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EDITORIAL

THE DISCUSSION OF HANS DENCK'S THEOLOGY IN THIS ISSUE BY JAN KIWIET, WHICH concludes his two-article treatment of Denck, is a major contribution to the analysis and understanding of Anabaptist theology. It turns out to be a sort of rehabilitation of Denck, whom Kiwiet vigorously defends against the charge of being a Spiritualist or denying the deity of Christ. In this he refutes the interpretation of Denck put forth by the Quakers, the Unitarians, and the theological liberals of the past. Kiwiet shows, it is true, that Denck's major concern was the practical one of the repentance and conversion of the unbeliever, but this is not to his discredit at all, as the Lutherans of that time held. For Denck the heart of the Gospel was the new life in Christ, not as for Luther the remission of sins. This shift of the theological focus is characteristically Anabaptist. A prime virtue of Kiwiet's study is that he bases his analysis on a thorough study of Denck's writings, with abundant citations to support his case. This has not always been true of other treatments of Denck's theology.

THE ANABAPTIST TRACT ON THE CHRISTIAN AND THE STATE DISCOVERED BY HANS Hillerbrand and described by him in this issue is so important that the REVIEW is taking the unusual step of reproducing the original in photographic form. It seems to have eluded all previous scholars, and its discovery adds measurably to the available authentic South German Anabaptist theological testimonies. It is the oldest full-length Anabaptist statement on the important issue which it treats, unless the H. Schnell tract in Codex Geiser was earlier. In any case it is a classic statement, and deserves prompt translation and publication in English.

THE CENTRAL IDEA IN "ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS," BY HENDRIK BREMER, IS THE concept that Israel's separation from the nations is the essential condition for the fulfillment of her mission under God to the nations. The Exodus itself, as well as the subsequent continued separation, gives Israel her new life, her freedom, the opportunity for obedience. Israel's rejection of all that is evil in the world is the solid basis for a redemptive mission to the nations that are still in bondage to evil. This understanding of Israel's proper relation to her God and to the nations is the background for a right understanding of the relation of the church to the world under the new covenant.

LIKE MOST OTHER PROTESTANT GROUPS MENNONITES TODAY FIND THEMSELVES divided into various and varied national and denominational bodies through the accidents and incidents of four hundred years of history. The relationships between these bodies have at times been positive and constructive, at times neutral and indifferent, at times negative and even antagonistic. In view of their common Anabaptist heritage they should have been brotherly and cooperative throughout. H. S. Bender's brief history of Mennonite inter-group relations, while not in any way suppressing the unfavorable aspects, highlights the impressive growth of cooperative effort and brotherly relations within the total Mennonite brotherhaad around the world in more recent times. North America, where the center of gravity of world Mennonitism now rests, has a particularly encouraging record in this respect. The Mennonites of this area, largely through the work and influence of the Mennonite Central Committee, but also through other channels, have become the carriers of reconciliation and co-operation in a unique way. As Mennonites in Europe and other lands join hands in co-operative effort and fellowship, a Mennonite world brotherhood is emerging as a reality and not just the bright dream of a few.

(Continued on page 27)

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

THE THEOLOGY OF HANS DENCK

JAN J. KIWIET*

The Word of God

The Word of God and the Scriptures. During the Leipzig Disputation in the summer of 1519 the typical Protestant doctrine of the Word of God emerged. Instead of the authority of the church and tradition a new authority was claimed by Luther. He stated: "We lean upon that which is outside of us, namely, upon the promises and the truth of God."[1] Very soon this statement was crystallized into the doctrine of the Word of God, which became the center of all non-Roman Catholic churches on the Continent. Against the authority of the pope the Protestants claimed the Word of God as their sole authority.

Soon after this event the doctrine of the Word of God received various interpretations. Luther had equated the Word of God with the Scriptures and so did Zwingli and Calvin.[2] Michael Sattler, one of the leaders of the Swiss Brethren, had also accepted this view.[3] A different interpretation, however, arose among the circles influenced by the German Mystics. These people protested against the authority of the Book and asserted that a personal relation with God never could be achieved nor mediated by a book consisting of paper and ink. Faith cannot be learned from a book, but in an encounter with God.

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1 Cited by Walther Köhler, *Dogmengeschichte: Das Zeitalter der Reformation* (Zürich, 1951) 96.

2 *Ibid.*, 97-99.

3 *Supra, MQR* XXXI (October 1957) 250.

As far as we know, Thomas Müntzer was the first from these circles to proclaim a viewpoint different from Luther's.[4] He asserted that man first must expect the power of God and willingly accept suffering and the cross before he is able to hear the living voice of God. Man must first die with Christ and experience the hell of sin in his heart, before he can rise with Christ. After this conversion the Bible also becomes a living reality to man.[5]

For Hans Denck also something like an encounter with God has to precede an understanding of the Scriptures. God speaks to man even before he opens the Bible. The function of the Scriptures is to give a clearer understanding of this encounter,[6] which is the Word of God in our hearts. "Whoever does not want to expect the revelation directly from God . . . makes of the secrets of the Scriptures an abomination."[7] "Whoever does not have the Spirit and presumes to find Him in the Scriptures is seeking light but finds darkness, and is seeking life but finds death."[8] The Bible is not the source of faith but a testimony to this revelation of God to man.

Both Müntzer and Denck differed from the Lutherans, who asserted that the Word of God comes to us through the spoken word of the preacher and through the written word of the Bible. The Lutheran preachers of Nuremberg wrote: "As an artisan cannot work without tools, no more does God want to give faith to those who despise His book or preaching."[9] Luther himself wrote: "The Word comes to man through the outer word."[10] Denck would not allow such a limitation of the Word of God. The difference between Denck on one side and the Lutherans on the other has many implications and determines each aspect of their respective teachings. For Luther the Word of God was basically a message revealed to us by the Scriptures, while faith was the trustful acceptance of this revelation. For Denck and Müntzer the Word of God was basically the person of Jesus Christ as the way to regeneration and new life. Instead of acceptance of the message, Denck wanted surrender to Christ, who alone can claim identity with the Word of God. The Scriptures testify to this Word or this power of God.

The difference between Müntzer and Denck, due to their different backgrounds, must however also be noticed here. Due to Tauler's

4 *Ibid.*, 238.
5 Thomas Müntzer, *Von dem gedichteten Glauben* (1524), ed. O. H. Brandt, *Thomas Müntzer, sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Jena, 1933) 126-32.
6 "Confessions," ed. Th. H. F. Kolde, "Zum Prozess des Johann Denck und der drei gottlosen Maler' in Nürnberg," *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien* (Leipzig, 1887) 406: "Die Schrift ist ein Lucern" (II Pet. 1:19).
7 *Ibid.*, 406.
8 *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. B IV.
9 "Gutachten der Nürnberger Prediger," *Zum Prozess*, 240.
10 R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* IV (Leipzig, 1933) 382.

influence Müntzer emphasized special religious experiences, not only the experiences of conversion but also the experience of the living Word of God in dreams and ecstasies after conversion. Denck rather protested against such experiences. "Whoever has the truth . . . has no need of speaking about the fictions of his heart and about his dreams."[11]

By speaking about the Word of God in man Denck meant something completely different from what Thomas Müntzer conceived of as the living voice of God. It only creates confusion therefore to use the term "inner word" for both Müntzer and Denck, as has been customary since Heberle;[12] the English Quakers even made it the main theme of Denck's teaching.[13]

We shall see later on that this expression is not accurate for either Denck or Müntzer. In connection with Denck, Heberle[14] has already pointed out that the idea of the "inner word" was hardly developed in Denck's teaching. Actually Denck never used this expression, nor did his contemporaries ever accuse him of doing so. Butzer pointed to a clear distinction between Müntzer and Denck in this respect, but did not use the term "inner word" for either one of these men. Butzer writes: "Müntzer and his followers have several secrets among them about the living voice of God."[15] "Denck . . . teaches . . . that everybody must observe what the Divine in him commands, because man has to decide whether he wants to follow the good or to oppose the evil."[16]

For Hans Denck the encounter with the Word of God is not a matter of special revelations and experiences, but a continuing reality for each individual person. No man can escape being faced with the Word of God and nobody can therefore excuse himself by saying, "I am not elected, I do not hear the Word of God, and consequently I cannot obey Him." Everybody is created according to the image of God, which is another expression for the continuing encounter with the Word or Power of God in the human heart. The Gospel of repentance and conversion has to be preached to all people without exception and every one has the opportunity and power to surrender his will to Christ. Whereas the living voice of God was a special religious experience to Thomas Müntzer, the Word of God in the heart of men was for Denck a continuing reality for sinner as well as believ-

11 *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. D III.
12 Urban Heberle, "Johann Denck und sein Büchlein vom Gesetz Gottes," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (Hamburg, 1851) 156.
13 *MQR*, October 1957, 229.
14 Heberle in *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Leipzig, 1896-1913) 3d d., vol. IV, 579.
15 Martin Butzer, *Getrewe Warnung der Prediger . . . zu Strassburg . . .* (Strasbourg, 1527) fol. A VI.
16 Letter of Butzer to Zwingli (August 13, 1527): *Zwingli Werke* IX, 184 f.

er. It is the divine imperative in man, or "der Anknüpfungspunkt" as Emil Brunner calls it.

If the Word of God is much more than the Bible words, what meaning do the Scriptures then have to Denck? In his so-called recantation Denck stated: "I estimate the Scriptures above all earthly treasures, but not so highly as the Word of God."[17] Denck showed his high estimate of the Scriptures by his excellent knowledge of the contents of the Bible and by his many quotations. He was, with Haetzer, the first translator of the Old Testament Prophets from the Hebrew during the time of the Reformation.[18]

In spite of his high respect for the Scriptures Denck evaluated the conscious and obedient encounter with God much higher. Faith is not a matter of reading the Bible, but of meeting God. The following illustration of Denck may clarify his standpoint:

> The Bible is like a letter from God; when you do not know God, it is foolish to rely upon the promises in the letter; God might not be as is described in the letter. When you do know God, you say, O Lord, let me serve Thee; I do not ask any more for Thy letter. . . . You should, however, not reject the letter, however faithfully you serve the Lord. If you do not keep the letter, you will not receive any comfort from it.
>
> The Scriptures are given for punishment, teaching and consolation, but as long as man is wrong he is not able to use them. The Scriptures as such are holy and good, but in the heart of the wrong man everything becomes wrong. Nothing can help him except God, without any material means.[19]

The Word of God and Man. We have seen that the Word of God creates the continuing relationship between God and man, and that the Word of God cannot be limited to the Scriptures. Now we must go a step further and notice that Denck also never limited the Word of God to a divine part of the soul. Very carefully he wrote, "God is in all men, but not a part of them."[20] The *Theologia Deutsch* shows the same carefulness; the real light is not the natural light in man, as the real love is not the natural love.[21]

Here we have to distinguish Denck from the later Spiritualists. Usually Müntzer and Denck are mentioned together with Franck and Schwenckfeld as Spiritualists, which historically as well as systematically is a very unhappy confusion. It is true that they all emphasized the Spirit, but that is also true in the New Testament. How-

17 *Hans Dencken Widerruf uff die Zehen artikel* (Basel, 1529) 236.
18 *MQR*, October 1957, 252.
19 *Widerruf*, fol. D I.
20 Hans Denck, "Was geredt sey, das die Schrift sagt, Gott tue und mache guts und böses" 1526) fol. A IV; see *Confessions*, 405: "Das in mir, nit das mein (sag ich), das mich treibt on meinem willen und zuthun."
21 G. Siedel, *Theologia Deutsch* (Gotha, 1929) 180.

ever, it makes a great difference whether the Spirit of God is meant or the divine element in man. The last concept was essential to the Spiritualists, such as Johannes Bünderlin, Sebastian Franck, and Kaspar Schwenckfeld.

Not much research has been done as yet to trace the historical and ideological connections between these religious leaders. It is certain that Theophrastus Paracelsus (1493-1541) exerted quite an influence on the genuine Spiritualists.[22] He was a naturalist, philosopher, and physician of far-reaching importance.[23] He searched for basic divine elements in creation, considering this study his religion. Bünderlin, an Anabaptist leader and follower of Denck, came under the influence of this philosopher. In his second book Bünderlin started to expand the idea that man is an emanation of God; God cannot be without the divine opposite, because He does not want to remain unknown.[24] One year later Bünderlin showed the religious consequences of such a new anthropology. Because man is essentially a spiritual being, real religion must also be spiritual. Accordingly there is no visible church, no external baptism and Lord's Supper. The Scriptures are given for an education to a pure inner religion.[25]

Sebastian Franck wrote enthusiastically about this new development of the Reformation:

> In our time there are already three distinct faiths, which have a large following, the Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Anabaptist; and a fourth is well on the way to birth, which will dispense with external preaching, ceremonies, sacraments, ban and office . . . and which seeks solely to gather among all peoples an invisible, spiritual Church.[26]

In the meantime Franck wrote his voluminous chronicles with the purpose of showing God's revelation in all mankind.[27] The Turks as well as the Reformers are to him bearers of God's revelation, because nature as such is divine.[28]

With Johannes Bünderlin and Sebastian Franck the Spiritualist circles took a start. They spiritualized every concept; their basic principle was the "inner word" or the "inner light" of all creation. Their world concept became some form of dualism. Denck and

22 Walther Köhler, "Die Spiritualisten," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (Gütersloh, 1948) 164-86.

23 H. Bornkamm, *Mystik, Spiritualismus und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Giessen, 1926) 8.

24 Johannes Bünderlin, *Aus was Ursach sich Gott in die Nyder gelassen und in Christo vermenschlicht ist* (1529) 1-5; cf. A. Nicoladoni, *Johannes Bünderlin von Linz und die oberösterreichischen Täufergemeinden in den Jahren 1525-1531* (Berlin, 1893) 140.

25 Johannes Bünderlin, *Erklärung . . . dass der Wassertauf sampt anderen äusserlichen Gebräuchen . . . on Gottes befelch sind* (n.p., 1530); cf. Nicoladoni, *ibid.*, 144-45.

26 Sebastian Franck, *Türkenchronik* (1530), cited by Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1914) 49.

27 Cf. Introduction to Franck's first *Chronica* (1531).

28 Jones, *op. cit.*, 53.

Müntzer were not spiritualists.[29] Müntzer was a follower of the old German Mystics' preaching for a special religious experience, while Denck was influenced by the *Theologia Deutsch,* which opposed special experiences and demanded continual obedience by each individual. Both Müntzer and Denck in dealing with the Spirit mean the Spirit of God in contradiction to anything that is human. As shown above, Denck was very careful to distinguish the Spirit of God from the natural light in man. The Spiritualists very openly claim that nature as such is divine and by that claim they take a way completely different from the German Mystics as well as Hans Denck. It is therefore very confusing to use the concept "inner word" in connection with Hans Denck or to call him a Spiritualist.

The various attempts to describe this so-called inner word of Denck were bound to fail. Roehrich interpreted this "inner word" as the conscience of man and his religious impulse,[30] which was taken over by Keller[31] and by the Quakers.[32] Keller enlarged this definition of the inner word by adding that Denck meant a natural disposition toward the good, on the basis of which Keller thought to discover in Denck a precursor of nineteenth-century theology.

The interpretations of Roehrich and Keller are not the result of thorough research in the writings of Hans Denck, as the following synonyms may show . We have already noticed that the term "inner word" does not occur in Denck's works. The expressions used most frequently are: "the truth in me" and "the mediator" or "the medium."[33] The following synonyms occur just once or twice: "the Word," "the Word in the heart," "a spark of divine zeal," "the power of the Most High," "Christ," "the Lamb and the Lion," "the Kingdom of God in us," "the Holy Spirit," and "Thy voice." We see there are no allusions to the concept of conscience and religious impulses, or to a natural disposition of man. The Word of God is very clearly not a part of man; Denck is neither a spiritualist nor a liberal theologian.

The Word of God and Christ. The Word of God is not identical with the Scriptures nor is it the divine element in creation, but it is Christ Himself. Only He can claim identity with the Word of God. He is the truth, the way, and eternal life. He is God's gift to us in order to reconcile us to God. By this word we were created;[34] it embraces the whole realm of history from its beginning until its very

29 *Supra,* p. 5
30 G. G. Roehrich, *Essai sur la vie, les écrits, et la doctrine de l'Anabaptiste Jean Denk* (Strasbourg, 1853) 56.
31 Ludwig Keller, *Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer* (Leipzig, 1882) 57.
32 Alfred Coutts, *Hans Denck 1495-1527, Humanist and Heretic* (Edinburgh, 1927) 28.
33 "Das Mittel," used to indicate the connecting link, the means, and the middle.
34 *Was geredt sey,* fol. C I.

end.[35] This word or truth of God is in the heart of all mankind. Denck describes it as follows:

> The Word is so clear that everybody, the dumb, the deaf, the blind, yes senseless animals, leaves and grass, stones and wood, heaven and earth and all that is in them, hear Him and do His will. Only the man who does not want to become "nothing" resists Him.[36]

Also the suffering and the victory of Christ include the whole realm of time. "The lamb that has suffered in Christ has suffered from the beginning of the world[37] and is suffering unto the end."[38] That is for those who resist Him; on the other hand, Christ is victorious in those who obey Him.

> The lion of the tribe of Judah,[39] which has gained the victory in Christ,[40] has also been victorious in all the elect from the beginning.[41] . . . Lamb and lion are the only Word of God, which fills the whole world[42] and which is also in our hearts.[43] As long as we seek ourselves and do not heed this Word, then it suffers in us unto condemnation. This condemnation too is performed by this Word, although we do not know about that.[44]

The objection was made to Denck that the Jews could not possibly have had the Word of God in their hearts in the same way as Paul preached it. The message of Jesus Christ crucified and raised from death was unknown to them. Denck answered:

> The Spirit of God had attested to them that only God should be loved, because only He is good. If one wants to love Him, then he should hate and forsake everything else that hinders, which is himself and all creatures. . . . What is that other than what both Moses and Paul preached, although in a different way? This different way is only a *difference in external appearance*, which is not essential to the truth itself, but which is only a testimony to the truth. He who wants to worship the testimonies rather than the truth itself turns the order upside down, which is an abomination to God.[45]

Automatically the question would be raised: Why then should Christ come to the earth?

> Because man should have a clear testimony, not only in the Spirit but also in the flesh; a testimony from within and from without. Nobody can excuse himself by saying that God works in

35 *Ibid.*, fol. B I.
36 *Ibid.*, fol. C I.
37 Rev. 13:8.
38 Matt. 25:34.
39 Gen. 49:9.
40 Rev. 5:5.
41 Num. 23:24; 24:9.
42 Jer. 23:23.
43 Deut. 30:14; Rom. 10:8.
44 John 9:39.
45 *Was geredt sey*, fol. B III.

> secret and leaves man to sin in order that he perish, which would be God's secret pleasure[46] as people still say today.[47]

The very humanity of Christ is the striking evidence for us that He is our Savior. The life and death of Jesus Christ are such a manifestation of knowledge and love, that we can find no other man like Jesus.

> He is the most perfect reflection of His Father; if He could have become a bit more perfect (and had not done so), He would not have been the right Savior. . . . He has proved to be our right Savior by laying down His life of His own accord without any resistance and by taking it again without any boasting by the power of His Father.[48]

We see that Christ is not "the most perfect *man*"[49] to Denck, but "the most perfect reflection of His Father." It has generally been asserted that the emphasis on a life of imitation would degrade Christ to a great man and teacher only and deprive Him of His divinity. From this chapter we see rather the reverse: the divinity of Christ and His spiritual existence are emphasized more than His humanity.

The Obedience of Man

Conversion. Having considered Denck's interpretation of the Word of God we will have to deal with man's response to God. This subject touches the main concern of Hans Denck. His considerations on the Word of God are the background from which he operates. Denck's real concern is not a new anthropology, but a reaching out to people by bringing them the Gospel of salvation. The common situation of all mankind is its state of original sin, which is described by Denck in the following way: Man hears the Word of God in his heart, but by nature he does not want to obey God, or rather man constantly resists God. "Because of this resistance we all are fallen."[50] There is no exception to this state of original sin; "the whole world lies in mortal sins."[51] We cannot blame God for this siuation, because "man has thrown himself into death, when there was not yet death."[52] We cannot blame Adam and Eve either, because each individual person continues his sinful resistance against the Word of God on his own account.[53] Nobody can excuse himself by saying that in consequence of original sin we are deaf and no longer hear

46 Referring to Luther's concept of the secret will of God; cf. Seeberg, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, 179.
47 *Was geredt sey,* fol. C I.
48 *Ibid.,* B IV.
49 Roehrich, *op. cit.,* 41.
50 *Vom Gesetz Gottes,* fol. B II.
51 *Ibid.,* fol. B II.
52 *Ordnung Gottes und der Creaturen Werck,* fol. A IV.
53 *Was geredt sey,* fol. A II.

the Word of God.[54] Man remains able to hear the Word of God even in his sinful state, but man refuses to listen to the Word of God.

It is correct to say that Denck denied the classical doctrine of original sin[55] which asserts that man, after the Fall, became unable to hear God, except by the aid of divine grace. On the other hand it is not correct to say with Keller that Denck believed in a natural disposition toward the good.[56] For although man is able to hear the Word of God and to obey Him, yet until he becomes a Christian he always continues his sinful resistance.

To man in this situation comes the righteousness of God through the Word of God, which is Christ. He encounters us in His two functions of judge and savior. By the law He mortifies the unbelievers and by the Gospel He raises them to new life.[57] All believers were once unbelievers, so all men have to die with Christ. We all have to allow God's breaking us, because "God's breaking is infinitely better than our making."[58] "He who does not want to suffer this mortification, will have no excuse before God."[59] As soon as Christ has guided us by the law to a genuine repentance, He comes to us as Savior. By receiving His Gospel we are reborn unto a new life with Christ.[60]

Probably Denck adopted this division of the Word of God into Law and Gospel from Luther. Luther asserted that the Law shows us our sinfulness and the wrath of God because of our sin, while the Gospel is a proclamation of God's grace and of remission of sins.[61] The heart of the Gospel then is redemption of sin, according to Luther, while the new life is seen as a result or fruit of redemption. Denck, however, reinterpreted these concepts of Law and Gospel. It is not the remission of sins which is the heart of the Gospel, but the new life with Christ. The law mortifies our sin; therefore the Gospel no longer deals with sin, but is the power of God unto a life with Christ. The Word of God in its function as Gospel is not in the first place a proclamation of what has happened in Christ, but primarily the reviving power which we have in Christ at present.

The will of God is that we should die to sin before we can hear the Gospel. This dying to sin, which must precede the new life, means a complete surrender of man himself and of all his desires.

The conversion must take place from the roots of our exist-

54 On Luther's conception of original sin, see Seeberg, *op. cit.*, IV, 207.
55 *Mennonitisches Lexikon* I, 604.
56 Ludwig Keller, *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien* (Leipzig, 1885) 354-57.
57 *Confessions*, 407.
58 *Was geredt sey*, fol. B I.
59 *Ibid.*, fol. D I.
60 *Confessions*, 407.
61 Seeberg, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, 250.

> ence.[62] To Christ we should bring empty souls, being ready to sacrifice everything we have. A full heart expects that its desires are going to be realized by Christ. So the workman seeks good wages, the poor seek riches, the rich people seek to retain all they have through Christ. . . . We have not yet forsaken the smallest creature, to say nothing of ourselves. Hence the whole so-called Christianity is full of adulterers, niggards, and topers.[63]

Conversion is not something which can happen in a moment. It takes a lifetime.[64] Life remains a struggle of the flesh against the Spirit.[65] "Flesh and blood are always resisting, while the Spirit continually testifies to us that God's will is the highest and the best."[66] The reward of this struggle is a true knowledge of God and His Anointed after this life.[67]

The conception of conversion is the crux of Denck's teaching. The Bible, the sacraments, or even the work of Christ, are of no avail when man is resisting. "The more man resists the deeper he gets into sin, and Christ is of no avail to him, although Christ has suffered for all men."[68] Man should forsake his resistance and allow the work of God in his heart. As soon as we have come to this point the Bible, the sacraments, the church get a major importance in our life. All these God-given means and fellow Christians are constructive to our faith and a completion of our salvation. Here is the reason why Denck's opponents got the impression that Denck was saying yes and no at the same time.[69] Denck denied, for instance, any efficacy of the sacraments unto salvation, while on the other hand he confessed that they were the completion of the work of Christ.[70] The value of the sacraments, the Bible, etc., depends upon whether or not man is willing to obey the Word of God. They have no ontological value in themselves, but their value is measured by the quality of the relation between God and a particular person.

The Order of God. The Lutherans would say: If everything depends on our decision or attitude and not on the grace of God, then we are saved by works and not by faith. In order to meet this objection Denck introduced the concept of the "Order of God," which is the order of salvation. In two books[71] he dealt extensively with this concept and its consequences. The term itself was adopted from the *Theologia Deutsch,* but its content was reinterpreted by

62 *Vom Gesetz Gottes,* fol. B III.
63 *Was geredt sey,* fol. C IV.
64 *Confessions,* 409.
65 *Ordnung,* fol. B I; quoted Rom. 7:14-20; I Cor. 9:27.
66 *Was geredt sey,* fol. B I.
67 *Ordnung,* fol. B I.
68 *Ibid.,* fol. B III; quoted John 3:3; I John 2:7-11.
69 *MQR,* October 1957, 240, 249.
70 *Loc. cit.,* 240.
71 *Was geredt sey; Ordnung.*

Denck. The *Theologia Deutsch* used this term for the order of creation in contrast to the eternal order of God.[72] For Denck there is no contrast between the human order; they are one harmonious order. This is the order of God, because God is the beginning, the middle, and the end of this order.[73]

God is good; if He were not good, He would not be God. Because God is good He also created everything good. As far as man is evil, he is evil on his own account.[74] That God really is good "is proved by the fact that God did not make use of His power, and that He did not immediately destroy the sinner, although He had a perfect right to do so."[75] Because God is good He never compels man to do His will. "We should accept Him as our Father from a motive of love, not because of constraint."[76] In order to evoke our free surrender to His will, God sent His Word, which was "a mediator from the beginning by whom all men were created and by whom all have to be reconciled to God."[77] The surrender of man means that he has to forsake everything else, even himself and his own salvation.[78] He who does not want to love God at the loss of everything else, "cannot be loved by God, although God loves everyone exceedingly."[79] God is ready to receive every sinner, but His order is that man should surrender himself freely and completely.

The Lutherans made several objections to Denck's teaching concerning the order of God. Denck quoted the opinions of his opponents regularly and tried to refute them. These objections are first against Denck's conception of God's providence, and secondly against his conception of the ability of man.

Denck's concept of free surrender was understood by the Lutherans as annihilating God's providence. Denck quoted their objection as follows: "You speak as if God Himself would not know the time of the conversion of man and that in consequence the providence of God would be uncertain."[80] Denck answered: "There is certainly a providence of God, but to whom has He revealed this in such a way that he can depend upon it?"[81] Furthermore God's providence does not decide anything; it does not predestinate our future decisions. Frequently we hear Denck or his followers repeat the statement, "Providence is not predestination."[82] "Should God's providence

72 Siedel, *op. cit.*, 135.
73 *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. D II.
74 *Ordnung*, fol. A IV.
75 *Was geredt sey*, fol. B I.
76 *Ibid.*, fol. B III.
77 *Ibid.*, fol. C I.
78 *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. B III.
79 *Ordnung*, fol. C IV; quoted Ps. 5; Isa. 66:4.
80 *Was geredt sey*, fol. C II.
81 *Ibid.*, D II.
82 *Ibid.*, A II.

predestine, then God would act contrary to His revealed will and mercy, that is, against Himself."[83] But not only that, it would also mean that God is responsible for the sin of man, which also is in contradiction to the revealed will of God. "If God were responsible for the sin of man He had no right to punish man, nor would we need to thank Him when He took away the punishment."[84]

Denck's opponents replied that God created everything, light as well as darkness.[85] Denck answered:

> I agree; if God had not created the world no sin would have arisen. This, however, does not mean that God Himself created sin. God permitted man to sin, to disobey, but He did not coerce man to sin. Permission is not coercion. If a father puts a penny before his child in order to test him and later on has to punish this child because of his taking away that penny, the father is not to blame for the stealing of his child. . . . So we also should not blame our Father by saying: "Thou knewest beforehand that we would sin, why didst Thou not prevent it?" This protest is worse than the sin itself.[86]

Although God is not the originator of sin He may use the sin of man as a punishment or as a blessing to others. Joseph said to his brothers: "It was not you who sent me here, but God."[87] The fact that the Scripture says that God uses the sin of others, however, does not allow us to sin in the confidence that our sin might be a blessing to others.[88]

Now we come to the second objection of the Lutherans, which is connected with their concept of original sin.[89] They asserted that man by nature is unable to hear the Word of God, therefore he is also unable to surrender himself freely to God. Man's will is bound by sin until released by divine grace. Denck asserted that man is able to hear the Word of God.[90] "Whoever says that he is unable . . . says in his heart that Christ is 10,000 miles away, which is contrary to Paul."[91] The free surrender, which would have been impossible because of God's omnipotence, has become possible by God's gracious gift of the Word, which is the mediator between the weak creature and the powerful God.[92]

Concerning the controversy about the will of man, whether man had a bound or a free will, Denck stated that both parties were partly right and both were partly wrong.

> It is very sinful pride to say that we have a free will to achieve salvation. On the other hand it is a cheap excuse to say we are

83 *Ordnung*, fol. A V.
84 *Was geredt sey*, fol. A II.
85 *Ibid.*, fol. A II.
86 *Ibid.*, fol. C II.
87 Gen. 45:8.
88 *Was geredt sey*, fol. A II, A IV.
89 *Supra*, p. 10.
90 *Supra*, p. 11
91 *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. B IV; quoted Rom. 10:8.
92 *Was geredt sey*, fol. C I.

> unable to surrender ourselves. . . . We are free to surrender, but unable to achieve anything.[93]

Denck distinguishes between the freedom of decision and the ability of achievement. The unbeliever as well as the believer always remains free to decide for or against Christ, because it is the nature of God's love that it never compels. We have, however, no freedom or ability to any achievement, because we are either a slave to sin or a slave to God.[94] We have the freedom to decide whom we allow to work in or through us, but the achievement itself is not ours. When we turn our heart to Christ He will mortify our sinful existence by the law until we are dead in Christ and realize our real human situation that we are not able to achieve anything. Then the Gospel raises us unto new life in Christ.[95]

The reason that man speaks so often about his inability and about God's providence is his unwillingness to do the will of God. "You certainly are able to eat and to drink and to cherish your lusts; who has taught you that?"[96] "The world is just upside down," Denck wrote; "the theologians make it easy to resist God (because of predestination) and impossible to obey Him (because of original sin)."[97]

We notice that Denck regularly switches over from theological thinking to its practical issues. All his arguments against the doctrines of predestination and original sin rise from his genuine concern for bringing the Biblical message of repentance and conversion. The Lutherans started out from a divine order of salvation in contradiction to our own world of perception. We may think we make a free decision, but God already has predestinated our deeds. Denck protests definitely against such a secret divine order, against a *Deus absconditus.* If there were such an order we would not know about it. God has revealed in the Bible to us all we need to know. There we find the order of God, in which God and man are participating; there we find the message of repentance and conversion. Theology has no right to make the revealed order of God into an order of relative importance and to start out from a secret and divine order. Denck therefore rejects the doctrines of predestination and bound will on the basis of his concept of the revealed order of God.

The Law of God. Being a Christian means to live according to the law of God. Hans Denck objected to any doctrine of the substitutionary work of Christ which teaches that Christ suffered and died in our place in order that we might become free from any obligation.

93 *Ordnung,* fol. C I.
94 *Widerruf,* 237.
95 *Ordnung,* fol. B IV; quoted Phil. 4:13.
96 *Ibid.,* fol. B V.
97 *Was geredt sey,* fol. B II.

Denck pictures Christ as the pioneer of faith paving the way from the sinful world to God. Christ did this on our behalf in order that we might be able to go this way, which is living according to the law of God. "Christ has fulfilled the law not that we would be released from it, but that we should have an example to imitate."[98]

The atonement of Christ is of extreme importance, because it was "enough for the whole world, and by that atonement He cleared a way which nobody could find."[99] By His death and resurrection Jesus has shown us that He is our Savior and that He is identical with the Word of God, which was from the beginning.[100] Now we should go this way which Christ has cleared. "He who does not go this way does not reach eternal life, and the way is of no avail to him."[101] "Whoever relies upon the merits of Christ and at the same time continues his carnal life, considers Christ as the Gentiles consider their idols."[102]

The Lutherans objected: If Christ only cleared the way and left it to us whether we would go that way or not, then Christ is not more than Moses. The way certainly would remain untrodden because we all are crooked and lame.[103] Denck admitted that to some extent Christ and Moses fulfilled the same function. Moses not only explained the law but indicated to the people the possibility of keeping it by the power of the Word of God which was in their hearts.[104] However, Christ did infinitely more. He not only explained the law or wrote it out to us in an external way, but He is speaking and writing it in our hearts from the beginning of the world unto its end.[105]

All messengers of God, whether they are Christ, Moses, or somebody else, point to the same God, and have only one truth and one message.[106] All that God has spoken to Moses must be fulfilled by us, as well as that which God has spoken through Christ and the apostles.[107] "Who does not want to listen to Moses will become blinded, because Moses did not preach himself, but the Word of God, which may never be neglected without damage."[108] The reference to Moses does not mean the five books of Moses, because Moses did not in the first place intend to give to his people a written book.[109] The word "Moses" stands for the external laws of creation and society, which

98 *Vom Gesetz Gottes,* fol. A IV.
99 *Ibid.,* fol. A IV; quoted John 14:6.
100 *Was geredt sey,* fol. B IV.
101 *Vom Gesetz Gottes,* fol. A IV.
102 *Widerruf,* 237.
103 *Vom Gesetz Gottes,* fol. A IV.
104 Quoted Deut. 30:14.
105 *Vom Gesetz Gottes,* fol. A IV; quoted Heb. 8:10; Jer. 31:33.
106 *Ibid.,* fol. D III.
107 *Ibid.,* fol. B IV; quoted Matt. 5:19.
108 *Ibid.,* fol. B IV.
109 *Was geredt sey,* fol. B III; quoted Deut. 30:11-14.

we have to obey and which eventually will bring the sinner to despair of himself,[110] because our sinful nature makes it an impossibility for us to fulfill these laws.

The law of God has only one purpose; it was given that man would come to love God and would hate all that hinders this love.[111] He who has received the new covenant has the law written in his heart and no longer needs to be reminded by external laws of his own sinfulness and of God's love. As far as one is lacking in love for God, so far he needs to be reminded by the external and by the written laws. The fulfillment of the law is complete love for God, which is the complete harmony of the will of man with the will of God. Such a man is free from every external law, because he has submitted himself freely to the whole law; he has forsaken himself and all creatures and serves them. This complete fulfillment has been achieved by Christ, the first born from the death of sin, and it will be achieved in all the elect.[112]

Man never can accomplish this harmony by himself. By nature man wants to follow his own will, so that he achieves rather a complete contradiction of his will with the divine will.[113] If man persists in his disobedience he enters into an alliance with hell and suffers all the pains of the wrath of God. The reality of hell begins already during our earthly existence. As long as man is living on earth he can leave his natural resistance to the will of God, and by the Word of God he can attain harmony with the will of God.[114] "We are not able to accomplish that harmony, but we can allow God to achieve that in us by His Word."[115]

The Imitation of Christ.

> The true love, which is the purpose of the law, would never have been understood if it had not been manifested in certain people, whom we call divine people or children of God, because they had God as their father. . . . The more God's love is manifested by such people, the better it can be known to others. . . . The man in whom the true love was manifested at its utmost was called by God the Savior of His people, . . . because God had united Himself in love so completely with Him, that all the actions of God were counted as the actions of this man, and that all suffering of this man was accounted as the suffering of God. This man was Jesus of Nazareth, who was promised by the true God in the Scriptures. . . . Therefore whoever wants to know the true love and to obtain it, cannot obtain it more easily and more directly than through this Jesus Christ.[116]

110 *Vom Gesetz Gottes,* fol. D II.
111 *Ibid.,* fol. B I.
112 *Ibid.,* fol. D II.
113 *Ordnung,* fol. B III.
114 *Ibid.,* fol. B I.
115 *Ibid.,* fol. B IV; quoted Phil. 4:13.
116 *Von der wahren Lieb* (1527), fol. C IV.

This quotation of Denck gives us the basis for an imitation of Christ. Imitation means that all genuine Christians are to a certain extent equal to Christ.[117] As Christ has sacrificed Himself to the Father so they are sacrificing themselves.[118] As Christ is the light of the world so also are His disciples.[119] The difference between Christ and His followers is that they "search for perfection, which Christ never lost."[120]

The believers not only imitate Christ, they are also one with Christ. They themselves are no longer living, but Christ lives in them. Christ is not only the example and teacher but also the Lord and Savior[121] providing the power to live up to the standards He has given. Consistent with his christology Denck defines faith as "obedience to God and trust in His promises," and sin as "disobedience and unbelief."[122] These statements show clearly that for Denck a life of imitation of Christ does not degrade Christ to a great man or to a teacher only.[123] Christ is identical with the Word of God and is the only power by which we can fulfill obedience to God.

To be a follower of Christ does not mean that man is free from temptations; perhaps they may even increase. A Christian, however, does not yield to them, because "the temptations cannot be greater than the elect can resist and the victory is always greater."[124] The more struggle in the flesh the more peace of mind the believer attains. Temptations may create problems, but they do not cause a Christian to sin. Where Christ reigns in the heart of man there is no longer any sin.[125] We need to look more closely at Denck's concept of sin in order to understand what Denck means by the sinlessness of a Christion. Denck does not believe that Christians are perfect, but he does not consider their defects as sins. Sin is a state of nothingness, which characterizes the situation of the unbelievers. "Sin is what opposes God, which actually is nothing"[126] because there is nothing that can oppose God.[127] As darkness disappears before the light, so sin is nothing before God.[128] In the same way a teacher reproaches a child because it does nothing while it should be doing something.[129] As soon as we have died with Christ and have left our nothingness we come to real life and sin no more, even if we continue to have many defects.

117 *Was geredt sey*, fol. B IV.
118 *Ibid.*, fol. B IV.
119 *Ibid.*, fol. B IV.
120 *Ibid.*, fol. B IV.
121 *Ibid.*, fol. B IV.
122 *Widerruf*, 237.
123 *Supra*, p 10 as Heberle asserted, *op. cit.* (1855), 878.
124 *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. B II.
125 *Confessions*, 407; *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. B II.
126 *Confessions*, 407.
127 *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. B I.
128 *Was geredt sey*, fol. B IV.
129 *Ibid.*, fol. A III.

The life of a Christian remains a struggle. Without a struggle no crown.[130] "Only Israel, the fighter of God, . . . is allowed to see God face to face, when the day breaks clearly and the sun rises."[131] The unbelievers who do not want to give up their resistance against God condemn themselves and eventually die as sinners.[132] "They who connect themselves to Satan will remain his slaves forever."[133] There is no way to get free from Satan after this life for those who have rejected Christ. On the day of judgment God will render to each according to his own works. To the evil ones He will give eternal punishment, to the good ones eternal life.[134] The kingdom of Satan will finally be conquered by God.[135] Every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess to God,[136] who "reigns for ever and still longer."[137]

The Congregation of Believers

The Separation from Unbelievers. Denck was a typical representative of the Free Church movement, which claimed freedom of organization and freedom of confession. Until death Denck remained faithful to these basic principles. In his last confession, his so-called recantation, he wrote: "In matters of faith everything should be free, voluntary, and unconstrained."[138] Neither the authority of the state in church matters nor the authority of a church creed for the individual was tolerated by Denck.[139] In the second place Denck must be distinguished from the Spiritualists. Several times[140] the question has been touched upon, whether Denck was an Anabaptist or a Spiritualist. Coutts accused Denck in having depreciated the historical church in favor of the church of the Spirit.[141] The Quakers, favoring such a view point, defended Denck as a spiritual reformer[142] who wanted a religion of the soul and no new church.[143]

Unfortunately we have not many sources for Denck's concept of the church, because most of his writing was done before he became a baptized believer. There is, however, enough evidence in Denck's teaching to trace the basic difference between the Spiritualists and the Anabaptists concerning the concept of the church. Sebastian

130 *Ordnung,* fol. A IV; quoted I Tim. 2:5.
131 *Ibid.,* fol. B II.
132 *Ibid.,* fol. B II.
133 *Ibid.,* fol. D II.
134 *Widerruf,* 238.
135 *Ordnung,* fol. C II; quoted I Cor. 15:26.
136 *Ibid.,* fol. C IV; quoted Rom. 14:11.
137 *Was geredt sey,* fol. C II.
138 *Widerruf,* 238.
139 *MQR,* October 1957, 259.
140 *Ibid.,* 229, 259; *supra,* p. 6.
141 Coutts, *op. cit.,* 236.
142 Jones, *op. cit.,* 18.
143 A. M. Schwindt, *Hans Denck, ein Vorkämpfer undogmatischen Christentums 1495-1527* (Habertshof, 1924) 2.

Franck, one of the first of the Spiritualists,[144] repeatedly dwelt upon this difference. In the broad-mindedness of his spiritualism he could tolerate everything except the principle of "separation" adhered to by the Anabaptists. "No sect can be so evil but that it has something good in it. . . . Take from each sect what is good and leave the rest to the devil. The greatest evil, which not unjustly annoys us, is, however, the biased separation."[145] The Spiritualists wanted an invisible church, in contrast to the Anabaptists, who wanted a visible church.

One of the ten points of Denck's so-called recantation had the heading: "About Separation and Sects." In this paragraph he wrote:

> I separate myself from several people, . . . firstly in order to be able to seek freely for the precious pearl . . . and secondly because of pressure and similar intimidation. My heart is not turned aside from them, but with error and iniquity I do not want to have any fellowship.[146]

Although this statement is directed against the churches of the Reformers in defense of his concept of the Free Church, this passage still shows that the principle of separation was important for Denck until his death. Franck was the first in refashioning this passage to a purely spiritualistic conception. He wrote: "Denck was not much in favor of separation; he said that his heart was separated from nobody."[147] In a similar way Franck refashioned Denck's statement about baptism and the Lord's Supper. Apparently he wanted to claim Denck as a precursor of the Spiritualists, which he did at the cost of historical accuracy.

The principle of separation was not only used by Denck against those outside the church, but also against members inside the church by means of the ban. The basis of this principle of separation is true love for the fellow believer. Love for God is the highest command and from this love results true love for people. Whoever possesses this love admonishes his neighbor sincerely, and when this neighbor does not want to listen he avoids him with grief. This is the basis of separation from the children of the world, and also the basis of the ban of excommunication. This separation must happen purely and in true love.[148]

Together with the Spiritualists Denck opposed the authority of church and state in matters of faith. Faith for them was a matter of the individual. The difference between the Spiritualists and the Anabaptists in this respect was that the Spiritualists remained indi-

144 *Supra*, p. 7
145 Franck, *Chronica* III, 200.
146 *Widerruf*, 238.
147 Franck, *op. cit.*, 159.
148 *Von der wahren Lieb;* quoted by Keller, *Ein Apostel*, 210.

vidualists, while the Anabaptists believed in a congregation of individual believers, as a visible manifestation of the kingdom of God.

The Ceremonies (Ordinances). Baptism and the Lord's Supper were called ceremonies by Denck. As to their value he did not agree either with the sacramental view of the Lutherans and Catholics or with the spiritualistic interpretation of the followers of Karlstadt.[149] "Whoever despises the ceremonies too much is ignorant whoever upholds them too much diminishes the honor of God."[150] Ceremonies in themselves are not sinful,[151] but whoever thinks he can achieve anything by them commits idolatry. "In this case, one would better lose all the ceremonies, for it is more profitable to do without them than to misuse them."[152] The disposition of man himself gives value to the sacrament. Whoever has the willingness to die with Christ will experience the completion of His death in baptism.[153] Whoever is susceptible to the love of God will receive it in the communion with his Lord during the Lord's Supper.[154]

Before Denck was a baptized believer he defined baptism as "the covenant of a good conscience with God."[155] This covenant is the resolution of the believer to die as Christ has died, in order that he may be raised with Christ.[156] This definition was used later very much by the Anabaptists of South Germany.[157] In his last confession Denck defined baptism as "the enrollment in the congregation of believers."[158] For the refutation of the baptism of infants Denck used arguments similar to those used by Hubmaier.[159] According to Matthew 28:18, teaching precedes baptism;[160] therefore infants cannot be baptized. "Whoever baptizes someone before that person is a disciple shows that baptism is more important than teaching."[161]

The prerequisite for a genuine baptism is the oral confession of faith.[162] During the Old Covenant circumcision was administered to the carnal seed without distinction of believers and unbelievers, because it was the era of bondage. Now in the New Covenant we have baptism as a sign of the era of freedom. Whoever asks will receive; whoever confesses Jesus as his Master and Savior is allowed to be bap-

149 *MQR,* October 1957, 240.
150 *Widerruf,* 239.
151 *MQR,* October 1957, 239, 258.
152 *Widerruf,* 239.
153 *Confessions,* 408.
154 *Ibid.,* 409.
155 *Ibid.,* 408; quoted I Peter 3:21.
156 Rom. 6:8.
157 Pilgram Marbeck, *Taufbüchlein* (1542), ed. by Christian Hege, *Gedenkschrift zum 400jährigen Jubiläum der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten* (Frankfurt, 1925) 201.
158 *Widerruf,* 239.
159 Carl Sachsse, *D. Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe* (Berlin, 1914) 21-25.
160 Johannes Bader, *Brüderliche Warnung für dem newen Abgöttischen orden der Widertäuffer* (n.p., 1527) fol. M III.
161 *Lieb,* 460.
162 Bader, *op, cit.,* fol. M III.

tized. It is no more the carnal seed that counts, but now only the spiritual seed of Israel has to be baptized.[163]

No specific statements about the Lord's Supper are made by Denck. Once Denck gives the following interpretation of the breaking of the bread. The breaking signifies that God renounces His divinity in order that man should renounce his humanity. Both then become one in love as has happened in Jesus Christ and will happen in all the elect.[164]

Relation to Society and the State. The kingdom of God is based only on the teaching and on the power of the Spirit. Christ taught all His disciples that they should have no fellowship with the evildoers unless for teaching and admonishing them. When they do not listen, they should be avoided, because the unbelievers have nothing to do with the church of Christ. The church has dealings with them only when it can serve them with teaching.[165]

Among the believers there is a relation of love, but the relation between the state and the world is a relation of power. In view of the evil world, the government serves God to perform His vengeance. If it were possible for a government also to act in Christian love, then a Christian government would be possible. "Because a government would never tolerate such an attitude, a friend of God is not allowed to take part in the government."[166] Nobody should resist the judge if his judgment is righteous. A disciple of Christ should, however, not judge and punish more than is profitable for the kingdom.[167]

One specific mark of the Anabaptists in their attitude toward the state was their refusal to take an oath. Denck also adhered to this concept during the time that he was an Anabaptist. "It is not in the power of man to keep the oath. Whatever a friend of God wants to testify he should do that without a vow as much as it is possible for him to do so."[168] If one wants to testify something of the past, he should do it with a simple yes or no.[169] In his last confession Denck allowed the oath for Christians as long as they could take it with a good conscience.[170]

In his attitude toward society and the state, Denck appears to be a true Anabaptist, although he has not the more rigid attitude of the Swiss Brethren. The following statement gives a good impression of Denck's attitude toward the world. "Let nobody look up to the prom-

163 *Ibid.*, fol. N I; *Lieb*, quoted by Keller, *Ein Apostel*, 207.
164 *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. D II.
165 *Lieb*, 462.
166 *Ibid.*, 462.
167 *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. D I; quoted Matt. 18:15-17.
168 *Lieb*, 461.
169 *Ibid.*, 462.
170 *Widerruf*, 240.

inent people of this world, whether they have power, talent, or riches. Whoever has his heart directed toward Heaven, let him direct it downward to the despised and to the small ones of this world."[171]

The Influence of Denck's Theology

Outside the Anabaptist Movement. It would be very difficult, and unnecessary for the purpose of this paper, to trace extensively the influence of Denck's teaching on various individuals and groups. Besides, it is often impossible to separate the influence of Denck from the general influence of the *Theologia Deutsch* during the time of the Reformation.

We have a clear proof of Denck's influence on Sebastian Franck. In 1527 Franck translated the Latin book of Althamer into German.[172] This book was directed against Denck's first booklet, which dealt with Denck's understanding of the Scriptures. In 1530 Franck has the same understanding of the Scriptures as Hans Denck, which must be due to his contact with the followers of Denck in Strasbourg.[173]

Another influence of Denck can be noticed in connection with the editions of the *Theologia Deutsch.* Started by Luther in 1516, they were published by the Lutherans until 1523, when they suddenly were interrupted.[174] After 1525 they were published by the opponents of Luther. The first edition of the opponents appeared anonymously in 1525 and without the introduction of Luther. When Denck was in Augsburg (1526), another edition appeared in this city by Silvan Othmar, a printer with whom Haetzer worked for a certain time during 1525.[175] Two more editions appeared in Nuremburg, and in 1528 the Anabaptists published it in Worms.[176] Because of Denck's influence, the *Theologia Deutsch* received a place among the Anabaptists.

After that time it appeared anonymously or by Schwenckfeld. Later on it was edited by the precursor of the Pietistic movement, Johannes Arndt, whose edition was published about eleven times (1597-1652). Jakob Spener, the founder of the Pietistic movement in Germany, also published about eleven editions (1681-1710).[177]

That there are close connections between Schwenckfeld and the Pietistic movement was pointed out by Hirsch.[178] In addition to the

171 *Vom Gesetz Gottes,* fol. A III.
172 *MQR,* October 1957, 241.
173 A. Hegler, *Geist und Schrift bei Sebastian Franck* (Freiburg, 1892) 10-50.
174 F. Pfeiffer, *Theologia Deutsch* (Stuttgart, 1855) pp. XIV-XIV.
175 F. L. Weis, *The Life, Teachings, and Works of Ludwig Hetzer* (Dorchester, 1930) 81.
176 With introduction of Ludwig Haetzer, printed by Peter Schöffer.
177 According to Pfeiffer, *op. cit.,* p. XV.
178 E. Hirsch, "Zum Verständnis Schwenckfelds," *Festgabe K. Müller . . . dargebracht* (Tübingen, 1922) 161, 169.

points of contact mentioned by Hirsch, comes this common interest for the *Theologia Deutsch*. Via the Anabaptists of Strasbourg Caspar Schwenckfeld was influenced by Denck. Schwenckfeld adopted several of the followers of Denck, of which one example has been noted above.[178a] The later troubles between Schwenckfeld and Marbeck about baptism and the Lord's Supper are well known since the publication of their discussions by Loserth.[179] Denck influenced the Pietists not only via Schwenckfeld but also through his own writings. In 1550 Denck's book on true love was published anonymously in Augsburg with the omission of the paragraphs on baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the Christian's attitude toward the state.[180] Besides that, we find a publication of all of Denck's books in Amsterdam in 1680 with the same omissions.[181] They were read by circles closely related to the origins of Pietism, as is pointed out by Friedmann.[182] Denck's teaching on conversion and his reaction against substitutionary justification became, with many variations, the message of Pietism. It is easily understood that the specific Anabaptist trends were subdued in view of the danger of persecution and in view of the emphasis on conversion.

Among the Anabaptists. We have noticed that Denck was closely connected with the origins of the Anabaptist movement in South Germany. Sometimes there was not a trace of the Anabaptists when Denck arrived in a place,[183] and sometimes just a small circle existed before his arrival.[184] Moreover we noticed that the Anabaptist congregations started by Denck were different in character from the Swiss Brethren.[185] The only contacts between the Swiss Brethren and Denck were his visit to St. Gall[186] and Hubmaier's visit to Augsburg, where he baptized Hans Denck.[187] When both movements developed and met each other in Strasbourg there was no possibility of unifying these different types of Anabaptists. The Schleitheim Confession was drawn up by the Swiss Brethren as a defense against the "false brethren,"[188] i.e., against the followers of Denck.

Hans Hut, after being baptized by Denck, worked more or less independently in Franconia and Austria. He baptized several hundred converts and was very influential in the development of the

178a *MQR*, October 1957, 252.
179 J. Loserth, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der oberdeutschen Taufgesinnten* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1929).
180 Robert Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries* (Goshen, 1949) 21.
181 *Geistliches Blumengärtlein* (1680).
182 Friedmann, *op. cit.*, 16 f.
183 *MQR*, October 1957, 244, 253.
184 *Ibid.*, 248, 252.
185 *Ibid.*, 250.
186 *Ibid.*, 241-43.
187 *Ibid.*, 245.
188 B. Jenny, *Das Schleitheimer Täuferbekenntnis* (Thayngen, 1951).

Anabaptist movement.[189] His eschatological preaching, however, created a different type of Anabaptist from those influenced by Denck. The contact between the two groups remained very close because the congregation in Augsburg included followers of both Denck and Hut. In August 1527 the two leaders came to an agreement, so that the unity of the Anabaptists in South Germany could be maintained.[190]

In 1527 the most numerous and influential group of Anabaptists was the group called into existence by Hut and Denck. Hut and his followers worked very successfully in Franconia and Austria, while Denck was influential in the rise of the Anabaptist centers of Augsburg, Strasbourg, and Worms. In this connection it is significant to notice that by 1527 the leaders who founded the Anabaptist movement in Zürich had either disappeared from the scene or joined the Anabaptists of South Germany. Grebel and Manz had died,[191] Brötli and Castelberger left no trace of their activities,[192] while Haetzer and Reublin joined the followers of Denck.[193] Sattler died in May, 1527.

When the persecution of the Anabaptists started in Augsburg, many took refuge in Strasbourg,[194] which became an important base for the Anabaptist activities. There we find the influence of Denck as well as Hut. These influences together created a very fruitful soil for the most divergent movements. Besides the extreme of the Spiritualists we find the other extreme of fanatic eschatology, the former no longer believing in the visible church and the latter fighting for the realization of the visible kingdom.

Various movements started around 1530 in Strasbourg: the movement of the Spiritualists was started by Bünderlin and Entfelder;[195] Pilgram Marbeck and his friends were the continuation of Denck's ideas;[196] Schwenckfeld took the middle way between the Spiritualists and Marbeck.[197] These groups were not eschatological-minded. The eschatological direction was represented by Melchior Hofmann, who went down to East Frisia and the Netherlands and founded the Melchiorite movement.[198] Also the fanatical eschatological preacher, Jan van Leyden, who created the kingdom of Münster, started from Strasbourg.[199]

189 *MQR*, October 1957, 245.
190 *Ibid.*, 256.
191 Grebel died of the plague in the summer of 1526; Manz was drowned in Zürich Jan. 3, 1527.
192 *ML* I, 71, 175.
193 *MQR*, October 1957, 253, 256.
194 Abr. Hulshof, *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden te Straatsburg 1525-1557* (Amsterdam, 1905) 83.
195 *Supra*, p. 7.
196 *Supra*, p. 21.
197 *MQR*, October 1957, 251.
198 *ML* II, 330.
199 *ML* III, 60.

Neither the eschatological nor the spiritualistic tendencies can be explained as having originated with the Swiss Brethren. With justice Horsch has defended the position of the Swiss Brethren against such tendencies.[200] These tendencies had their origin in the teaching of Hut and Denck. Their untimely death[201] permitted misinterpretations and extremists to exert their influence.

Another important development of the Anabaptist movement of South Germany was the rise of the Hutterite movement in Moravia. We know that the visit of Hut to Nikolsburg created opposition within the church of Balthasar Hubmaier.[202] One year later a whole group of these opponents left Nikolsburg under the leadership of Jacob Widemann.[203] The characteristic feature of this group was community of goods and complete separation from the world. Under the leadership of Jakob Hutter from the Tyrol, this group developed into the well-organized and strongly missionary-minded Hutterite movement.[204]

It is interesting to notice that Denck's writings were copied and transmitted by the Hutterites.[205] The well-known Five Articles, the basic confession of the Hutterites, have even been ascribed to Denck, which is not correct according to Friedmann.[206] There are, however, several similarities in terminology and concepts.

We see that the most divergent movements were influenced by Denck. Denck had always been able to keep the emphasis on outer and inner realities in counterbalance. His followers often emphasized the one side at the cost of the other. The Spiritualists overemphasized the inner realities, while the Hutterites overemphasized the outer realities.

Conclusion

We see that the roots of the Anabaptist movement are more complex than they have usually been presented. The Anabaptist movement did not simply take its rise from Zurich. To be sure, the first baptism was performed in Zurich, but it is not correct to say that the Anabaptist movement as a whole was a development or an extension of the Zurich congregation.

The Anabaptist movement of South Germany took its rise from the opponents of Lutheranism and was greatly influenced by the

200 *MQR*, October 1957, 226.
201 Hut died in December, 1527.
202 A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder* (Philadelphia, 1943) 50-52, 59, 65.
203 *Ibid.*, 86-88.
204 *ML* II, 375-78.
205 Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1938) 237.
206 Robert Friedmann, "Eine dogmatische Hauptschrift der hutterischen Täufergemeinschaften in Mähren," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* XXVIII (1931) 80-111, 207-41; XXIX (1932) 1-17.

German mystics. Denck and Hut gave the movement a special character, which could not be harmonized with the faith of the Swiss Brethren. The baptism of Denck by Hubmaier was very important. To start a new church was in those days something unusual. By this baptism Denck received in some way the authority for the constitution of new churches. This baptism was the only connecting link of the Swiss Brethren with the followers of Denck and Hut. After Denck was baptized, the movement developed independently and even in contrast to the Swiss Brethren.

The teaching of Hans Denck was a strong support for many Anabaptists against the Lutheran doctrines. Generally they accepted his teaching of conversion. Statements as: "Providence is not predestination," "God is not the originator of sin," or "Baptism is the covenant of a good conscience with God," can be found in the court testimonies.[207]

Denck devoted only one and a half years of his talents and energy to the Anabaptist movement, which he considered to be the congregation of true believers. He was not always understood by his contemporaries nor by later generations. Denck was conscious of this danger but, although he was often misunderstood, he persisted in the task given to him by God.

> I know very well that many brethren think my words to be subtle and strange questions, but I pray everybody . . . for God's sake not to judge rashly.[208]

207 Sebastian Franck, *Chronica* (Strasbourg, 1536) Part III, 198.
208 *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. A III.

EDITORIAL *(continued from page 2)*

DIETMAR ROTHERMUND'S ESSAY ON "MENNONITES, MORAVIANS AND SALVATION" is not as light-hearted as its title may suggest. He has discovered new material on colonial Mennonitism in Pennsylvania in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem which lift the curtain at least a little on the spiritual state of the church in the earliest period of its life in the new world. How far the Moravian influence on the Mennonites went cannot be determined from the sources as yet discovered and exploited. Probably not too far.

KLAUS WUST'S "BOOKS OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE SHENANDOAH Valley" adds another footnote to colonial Mennonite history, this time in Virginia. Here there has hitherto been almost total obscurity as far as Mennonitism is concerned. Although not all his material applies to Mennonites, his report does cast some light on what Mennonites read in those days and so on the religious atmosphere that prevailed. It is clear that the pietistic element was substantial here, as it was in Pennsylvania.

AN EARLY ANABAPTIST TREATISE ON THE CHRISTIAN AND THE STATE

HANS J. HILLERBRAND*

The notable advance of Anabaptist historiography in recent decades has been accompanied by a remarkable accumulation of numerous sources of Anabaptist origin, few of which, however, have dealt extensively with the general issue of the magistrate and the problem of the church-state relationship.[1] In light of the importance of this issue for Anabaptism this is somewhat astonishing as it leaves only secondary clues as to the spread and remarkable congruence of the Anabaptist position regarding the magistrate in South Germany.[2]

A significant Anabaptist document on the Christian's attitude toward the state which thus occupies a unique position in the literature of Anabaptism has somehow escaped the attention of recent scholarship even though its existence has been known for over half a century.[3] The anonymous work of 27 pages carries neither date nor place of publication. The two copies known show different typographies, which indicates two different editions.[4] Thus the conclusion is justified that we have here a widely circulated and read book. Aside from minor discrepancies due to printing errors the text is identical in both editions.

The title, written in the lengthy and rather picturesque style of the day, runs as follows:

Aufdeckung der Babylonischen Hurn vnd Antichrists alten vnnd newen gehaimnuss vnnd grewel. Auch vom sig, frid vn herrschung warhaffter Christen vn wie sy der Oberkait gehorsamen das creütz on aufrhur vnd gegenweer mit Christo inn gedult vnd liebe tragen, zum preiss Gottes vnd allen frumen vnd Gottsuchenden zu dienst, stercke vnd besserung an tag gebracht. Matthei 22. Gebt

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1 A significant exception to be noted here is the *Codex Geiser* with its valuable *Gründlicher Bericht aus Gottes Wort wie man die weltliche und geistliche Regiment . . . unterscheiden soll etc.*, by H(ans) Schnell. Cf. Samuel Geiser, "An Ancient Anabaptist Witness for Non-resistance," *MQR* (1951) 25:66-69, and Harold S. Bender, "New Discoveries of Important Sixteenth Century Anabaptist Codices," *MQR* (1956) 30:72-75.

2 Definite importance will have to be attributed to the Schleitheim Confession, portions of which appear verbatim in several Anabaptist statements of faith throughout the 16th century. Cf. 'Rechenschaft und bekanntnus des glaubens," ex 1539, in Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1938), the confession of Jörg Suss, ex 1589 (!) in Manfred Krebs, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, IV. Bd., *Baden und Pfalz* (Gütersloh, 1951) 210; also the section on the "Obrigkeit" in the *Handbüchlein wider den Prozess so in Worms etc.* is largely drawn from Schleitheim.

3. C. Sachsse, *Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe* (Berlin, 1913) 103.

4 Copies are found in the Stadtbibliothek Augsburg and the Landesbibliothek Stuttgart. A microfilm copy of the Augsburg copy is in the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, Indiana.

dem Kaiser was des Kaisers is vnd Gott was Gottes ist. Proverb. 24. Misch dich nit vnder die aufrürische.

(Disclosure of the harlot of Babylon and of the Antichrist of the Old and New Mystery and Abomination. Also About the Victory, Peace, and Reign of the True Christians, and How They Are Obedient to the Magistrate, Carrying the Cross with Christ in Patience and Love, Without Rebellion and Resistance: Brought to the Light of Day to the Praise of God, and to the Service, Strength, and Furtherance of All Who Are Pious and Godseekers, etc.)

Only the title page of the Augsburg copy has the customary ornamentation which, however, gives no conclusive indication of either author or printer.[5] The ornament along the upper margin shows, between two eaglelike animals, two coats of arms, of which one is the double-headed Austrian eagle, whereas the other shows a simple horizontal bar which can be attributed to several Austrian cities.[6] Of these, only Freistatt seems to have had any significance for the Anabaptist movement; early in 1527 Hans Hut came to this town and stayed there for a short time.[7]

The entire second page of the Augsburg copy shows a picture of the woman on a dragon, which suggests a remarkable similarity, though not identity, with the title picture of Luther's New Testament of 1522.[8] In the introductory paragraphs of the treatise the writer refers to his personal experience and confesses that he, too, originally "has been possessed and captivated not a little by the man-made statutes of popery."[9] The "new evangelical preachers" led him away from such false doctrine: "I must give testimony to them that I gained the true knowledge partly through their writings, teaching, and preaching."[10]

Seemingly then the writer did not embrace the Anabaptist position immediately upon giving up Catholicism. He indicates that there took place an extended period of transition during which he followed the Reformation. During that time he occupied himself with anti-Catholic polemics: "For this cause I laid myself heavily against popery with all the writings which were usable to me for this purpose."[11]

5 A careful comparison shows that another anonymous booklet, *Ein schöns Gesprech zwischen Aim Edelman vnd seinem Knecht vom Apostolischen Tauff vnd die gehorsam der Oberkait belangend etc.* (n.p., n.d.), must have come from the printer of the Augsburg copy. The Stuttgart copy is in a *Sammelband,* of which the other book of identical typography is entitled *Clare Verantwurtung ettlicher artikel,* etc. It is dated 1531 and contains a lengthy rebuke of those who reject outward ordinances. Most probably it is also of Anabaptist origin.

6 S. Siebmacher, *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch,* 4. Abt., Städtewappen.

7 *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* 2:373; there was also an Anabaptist congregation at Freistatt.

8 Albert Schramm, *Luther und die Bibel, Die Illustrationen der Lutherbibel* (1923), Table 19, Number 28.

9 fol. A iiij a.

10 fol. A iiij a.

11 fol. A iiij a; "mit allen schrifften, so mir darzu dienstlich waren." It is not clear,

However helpful these hints as to the author's identity might be, they do not render any definite clue. We also regret the absence of any chronological clue aside from a passing reference to the Peasants' War which suggests 1525 as a definite *terminus post.* On the other hand, the general tenor of the work suggests that a reference to the Münster happenings certainly would have been included if the booklet had been written as late as 1535. This would make 1535 a possible *terminus ante* and provides the legitimate framework for ascribing the book to the early period of Anabaptism.

The important question of the Anabaptist origin of the treatise is to be established implicitly by the writer's polemics against both the Catholic Church and the Reformation. In one place he uses the expression, "since popery is nothing other than a possession of Satan."[12] In another he has this to say about the "evangelical preachers": "And speak the truth of Christ partly, but did not want to pass through the narrow gate. Matt. 7."[13]

The major feature of the treatise is the writer's vigorous contention that a true Christian cannot assume any government office or responsibility. This is his "disclosure of the harlot of Babylon." By this he does not propose to abolish the magistracy, but sets forth his intention to place the office in its proper setting as far as the true Christian is concerned. The office of magistrate has been instituted and ordained by God. Its function, namely, to protect the good and to punish the evil, shows God's mercy and love towards man whom God does not wish to leave in a state of chaos. The following quotations bring out this point most clearly:

> The gracious God has set the magistrate (from above) on earth to maintain outward peace.[14]
>
> The magistrate, set by God, Romans 13, to carry the sword according to God's order and instruction.[15]
>
> To preserve those who walk in the flesh through the might of the sword to the punishment and revenge of malice, for otherwise there would not be peace in property as one can feel everywhere. All this stems from God's goodness and grace who knows and wants only man's good and not evil.[16]

More than other Anabaptist writings the work emphasizes the goodness of God as it is related to the office of the magistrate: "But God permits it for a better purpose lest something worse should befall men and they perish as far as their earthly lives are con-

therefore, whether the writer merely meant to say that he accepted the teaching of those books and propagated them, or if he actually wrote some books himself. This description would fit Hut reasonably well.

12 fol. A iiij a.
13 fol. A. iiij a.
14 fol. B ij a.
15 fol. B a.
16 fol. B ij a.

cerned."[17] The rightful obedience toward the state which is commanded by God is to be given as a return token for God's love:

> Because of this benevolence and love of God to men, the true Christians are indebted as children of God, for love's sake, to give to the outward powers all obedience and submission even until temporal death.[18]
>
> All outward matters, even life and body, are subject to the outward powers, only the true faith in Christ may not be compelled or conquered.[19]

The distinction made here calls to mind the basic Anabaptist contention, as shown for example in Grebel's testimony before the court,[20] that only "outward matters" fall within the legitimate framework of the function of the state. While the writer affirms the necessity of the state, he establishes a definite distinction between the "world" and the "true Christian": while the state is necessary in the "world," that is, among those who do not heed or obey Christ's teachings, it is not necessary among the true disciples of Christ: "I will permit it for all those who think that they possess selfish interests and ask for protection for their property, who call the magistrate and sue in court, that the magistrate has been ordained to protect them."[21]

The writer's protest against any union of church and state is voiced with a clarity which is rarely found in Anabaptist writings. Attention is focused on the Emperor Constantine, with whose name this negative union is to be associated: "There was not among the Christians of old at the time of the apostles until the Emperor Constantine any temporal power or sword among Christians."[22] Satan himself is working through his prophets to seek an ornament with which he can mix temporal power with Christian faith.[23]

Three basic arguments are advanced by the writer to indicate the incompatibility of any union between church and state from the point of view of the New Testament. Essential is the example and teaching of Christ: "I confront all who want to join the kingdom of Christ with worldly powers with the judgment and parable of Christ."[24] The writer points out that Jesus fled when the crowd came to make him a king (a familiar theme in Anabaptist literature), that Jesus was willing to be ruled, condemned, sentenced, to be treated unjustly; and then concludes, "This is our mirror into which we are to look, [to see] whether we have the form of Christ."[25]

17 fol. B ij b. God's wrath as the other aspect prevalent in the order of the state is also present in Anabaptist literature, though by no means as frequently and exclusively as Fritz Heyer, *Der Kirchenbegriff der Schwärmer* (1938), 87, claims.
18 fol. B ij b.
19 fol. A iij b.
20 *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz, I Zürich*, ed. by L. von Muralt and Walter Schmid (Zürich, 1952) 175.
21 fol. B ij a.
22 fol. C ij b.
23 fol. B ij a.
24 fol. C iij b.
25 fol. B iij a.

In reply to the objection of those who point to the Old Testament and the example of Abraham, Jacob, Moses, and David, "and say that they also had the spirit of God and held the sword against the malicious and he who has the spirit of God also has the spirit of Christ,"[26] the writer's answer is that the advent of Christ has made invalid any reference to the Old Testament. A new aeon has begun for those who are disciples of Christ. "But Christ and His own have another office."[27] "Since Christ has come I may not hear Moses any more."[28] Those who lived in the time of the Old Testament and those who do not follow Christ can be classified together. They are, in effect, "one thing"; that is, both are equally under principles which are unacceptable to the disciples of Christ: "Therefore is now the law of the Jews and of the heathen one thing, namely it is outside of Christ."[29]

A second objection which is considered by the writer centers in the realm of social responsibility as it is related to Christian love. The writer puts it in the form of a question, "Should I not come to the help of my neighbor when somebody wants to destroy him?",[30] and even proceeds to show the consequences of a negative answer: "Yes, nobody would have security in this world."[31]

In answer the writer points to the example of Christ who restored the servant whom Peter had smitten: "But listen what Christ did: the Lord made him bodily well again whom Peter had offended and smitten out of love for Christ. Luke 22. Yes, the Lord did not hurt and He does not want either love or help by which others might be hurt or hated."[32] While love *is* the guiding principle of the writer's ethic it can never find its expression in acts so totally foreign to the new law of Christ.

> But when I, or those who accept Christ in truth, may come to the help of somebody in his need, be it friend or foe, if it can be done without offending anybody, such will never cease among true Christians who will suffer need for the sake of the true love of Christ, their Master.[33]

A third argument answered by the writer is also related to the area of social responsibility because it concludes, from the refusal of the Christian to participate in the magistracy, the potential impossibility of the proper functioning of that office. The writer's reply is that there will always be enough people willing to administer the office.[34] Above all, the center of a true Christian's intention should not be the functioning of the office of the magistrate, but rather it should be a distinct desire to follow Christ. "Let us take

26 fol. B iij a.
27 fol. B ij b.
28 fol. C ij b.
29 fol. C i b.
30 fol. B iij a.
31 fol. B ij a.
32 fol. B iij b.
33 fol. B iiij a.
34 fol. D a.

heed that we remain Christians, that we suffer, and keep the victory of the lamb, to the glory of our Father and of Christ to whom belongs alone all dominion, power and majesty, praise and honor."[35]

Thus the main point of contention between the writer and the "new evangelical preachers" is clearly placed into the area of the church-state relationship. One feels that there is evident a different approach to the Scriptures, as indicated in the writer's denial of the relevance of Old Testament passages; but above all it seems that the heart of the disagreement lies in the writer's Christology, for here we are confronted with a suffering Christ, "the mystery of whose cross" he so graphically portrays. This links the unknown writer with the main stream of the Anabaptist movement and the deep martyr theology it so ably and heroically expounded.

He who seeks Christ other than under the cross in patience will not find Him.[36]

In conclusion: I do not wish to confront (anybody) . . . with anybody else than the crucified, patient, and loving Christ.[37]

The true Christians will let themselves be dominated, ruled, and overcome in patience and love even unto the end of the world.[38]

The following pages reproduce a photographic copy of the Augsburg edition of the treatise.

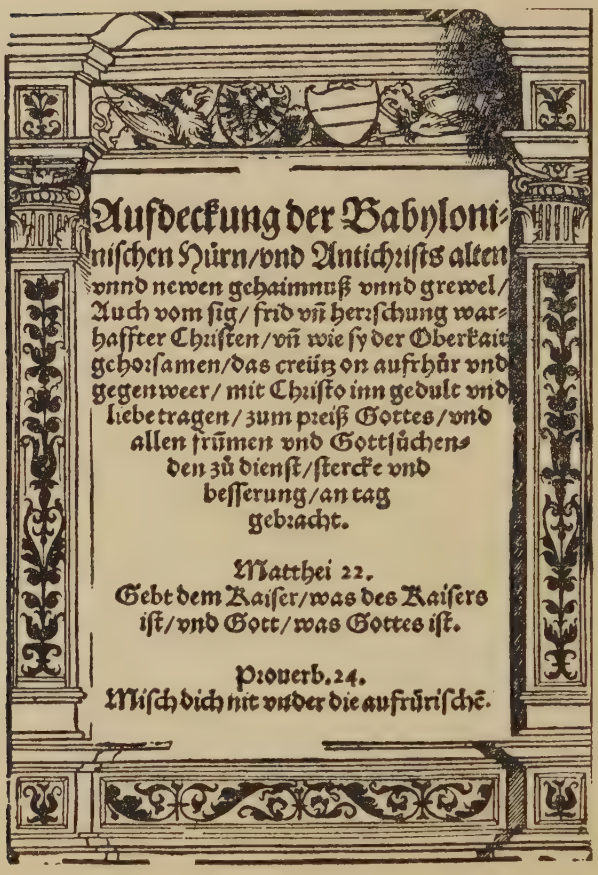
35 fol. D a. 36 fol. B a. 37 fol. A iij b. 38 fol. D a.

BOOK REVIEW *(continued from page 80)*

pel of Truth) the peculiarly heretical traits of Gnosticism, such as the distinction between the Unknown God and the lower Demiurge or the enumeration of aeons, find no place" (p. 53).

The reader will be aware that this book contains important information about the history of early Christianity. "Every kind of ancient literature, Christian and especially Greco-Oriental is represented in our library," says Dr. Puech (p. 20). At the time of the writing of this book only one volume had been studied. Recently (*New York Times,* Oct. 7, 1956, p. 34) cautious reports have been made about progress in studying the rest of the documents. It is to be hoped that circumstances will allow all of this material to be published, and that these scholars and others may be allowed to evaluate it fully. This volume is a splendid introduction.

Goshen College WILLIAM KLASSEN



Aufdeckung der Babyloni-
nischen Hürn/vnd Antichrists alten
vnnd newen gehaimnuß vnnd grewel/
Auch vom sig/ frid vñ herrschung war-
hafftter Christen/ vñ wie sy der Oberkait
gehorsamen/das creütz on aufrhür vnd
gegenweer/ mit Christo inn gedult vnd
liebe tragen/ zum preiß Gottes/ vnd
allen frümen vnd Gottsüchen-
den zů dienst/ stercke vnd
besserung/ an tag
gebracht.

Matthei 22.
Gebt dem Kaiser/ was des Kaisers
ist/ vnd Gott/ was Gottes ist.

Prouerb. 24.
Misch dich nit vnder die aufrürischē.

Got gebe gnad zů warer erkandtnuß allen so von hertzen die warhait süchen / inn diser gefehrlichen letsten zeit / die yetzund erscheint nach dem wort des Herren / Math. 24. Das solch verfürungen sollen kommen / das auch so es müglich were / die außerwölten nit erhalten möchten werden / so die zeyt nit verkürtzt wurde. Herr kom̃ / schneid kurtz schier ab / vmb deiner erwölten willen / die zeit. Dein will der geschehe baldt.

DJetweyl auß augenschein vnd erfarung (ausser zeügknuß der schrifft) so gnůgsam sich selb durch die würckung vnd verhengknuß Gottes eröffent / vnd durch die werck selbs außlegt / so jetzt allenthalb im schwang nach dem wort des Herrn lauffen / sollen billich alle creaturn Gotes erzittern vnd erschrecken / als die Propheten an vil orten bezeügen vnnd melden / das ernsthafft gericht Gottes / seins erschrecklichen tages / der kommen soll / Esaie 24. Jone. 2. 3. Zephan. 1. 2. 3. das solches die verfallen Sodomitisch verkert / verlassen vnnd ergerlich welt so gar mit warnimpt noch erschrickt / wirdt billich das ort des Herren worts schon yetzund erfüllt / das es schon geht wie zů der zeit Loth vnnd Noe / Sy assen vnd trancken / heyraten / vnd liessen sich verheyratē (on forcht) biß sy all mit ainander verdurbē / Luce 17.

Die welt ist vol / vnd geht schon über aller jrer laster / so vor in der gehaimnuß der boßhait verborgē gelegen. Auch wirt sy yetzt auffdeckt durch jr aigen schand / wie ain verborgne Hůr / die lang zeyt jren gemahel / in falschem schein der frümkait / betrogen hat / vnnd nachmals gantz vnuerschampt herfür bricht / vnd nimpt sich vñ alle ander Hůren weiß an / andere zůuerfüren vnd zůbetriegen mit jrer tausentfeltigen arglistigkait vnd kunst / daß die gantz welt vol irrthumb vñ verfürung worden ist / vnd alle geschlecht auf erden seind truncken worden vom wein jrer hůrerey / Apocal. 17. 18. vnnd seind wenig

ſo erſchrecken/vnd in ſtreyt jrer gwiſſen kommen/darauß raine forcht Gottes warer erkandtnuß entſpringt. Vnd wiewol ſich an ainem klainem heüflin zum tail/oder gar in menſchlicher ſchwachait/die gewaltigen krefft Gottes erzaigen/vñ yetz erſcheinen/ſo feyrt doch die bübiſch Hür nicht/ſolche herꝛligkait (wie von anfang) auch wider zübeſudeln vnd zübefleckẽ/durch vil verfürung vnnd irthumb/ſo mitlet von den Gotſeligen außgehn/Sy ſeind aber nit auß vns nach der rede Johannis/1. Johan. 2. Auch laufft die Hür neben an mit vil falſcher lere vnd aigen dichten/zů verkuntſchafften die freyhait nach den worten Pauli/Galat. 2. Aber ſelig ſeind die/ſo von ſolcher Hürerey nit befleckt noch beſudlet werden/dañ ſy ſeind erkaufft durch des Lambs blůt zů erſtlingen/Apoc. 14. vnd erlettet durch die krafft des Lambs/dann es iſt ain Herr aller Herren/vnnd mit jm die berüfften/auſerwölten vnnd glaubigen/Apoca. 17. welchem allain ehr ſey in ewigkait zů ewigkait/Amen.

On not iſt das der auffdeckten Römiſchen Roten Hüren (ſo lange zeit inn falſchem ſchein ſich erzaigt/als ſolt ſy dem höchſten gemahel/dem Breütgam Chriſto vermählt ſein geweſen/dadurch ſy ſich ſelbs vnd ander mit jrer Hürerey verfürt vñ betrogen hat) ainiche widerſprechung gethon werde/dann yetzund der ernſthafft/gerecht gemahel vnnd geſponß Chriſti/ſy mit allen jren bübinen außſtößt vnd verwürfft/vñ jm nun yetzt ain new volck verheyrat vnnd vermählt durch ſein Creütz/blůt vnd trübſal/wie in augenſchein iſt. Das aber die Schlang mit jrem liſt/ſich mit newer kunſt yetzt gegẽ dem rechten vnd rainen gemahel Chriſti/ſcharpff vnd hart yebt/iſt der zeit ſchuld/nach den worten vnſers Bretigams. Aber vnſer Breütgam hat durch ſein Creütz vnd todt die welt mit ſampt jrer boßhait überwunden/Joan. 16. In welchem wir auch überwinden vnd obſigen vnder dem creütz in der ainfalt deß glaubens/durch alles. Das aber die betrüglich Hür vnd Schlang mit ſampt jren kinderen vnd bübinen/erkennen/ſehen vnd empfinden/das die recht/war ainfalt des glaubens/all jr

all jr newe argliſtigkait vnd falſche kunſt auch erkennen/als wol als jre alte Hürendick/Ezech. 23. erkendt ſeind/habe ich ſolch jr new kunſt vñ liſt/ſo wider die kinder Gottes/yetzund gebraucht werden/auß gedrungner ſchuld/mir fürgenõmen/zum preiß Gottes/zů dienſtbarkait vnd beſterckung der frümen/beſchriben/vnd in das gegenthail geſtellt/wie hernach volgt/der Herr geb genad.

Zů erſten/als der Track die alt ſchlang Apoc. 20. (ſich lang zeit in falſchem ſchein deß Ehgemahels vnd geſponß Chriſti verborgen/vnd die gantz welt betrogen hat) gwar iſt worden/das ſein zeit genähert/hat er ſich auß der verhengknuß Gottes/ſelbſt durch ſeine Prophetẽ (als ſey jm laid vmb den merckliche irthumb vñ abfall der Chriſten) zum tail an tag gebẽ. Aber jm durch ſeine Propheten die groß gehaimnuß der boßhait/in falſcher hailigkait vnd kunſt der ſchufft verendert vñ verklůgt (dardurch menſchlichs gemůt verfüret) als ſeiens die fürnemſten ſtuck zů der ſäligkait zehalten/nemlich der Kindertauff/vnd deß Bapſtes Götzen werck/da ſy vil von zancken vnd ſchwetzen/ſolchs in baider geſtalt/oder *ſubtracta ſpecie* zůempfahen/vnd die gantz welt mit jrem zanck vñ ſchufften angefült/dadurch der Satan/ſein ſpil zůnerfüren deſterbaß verricht hat/vnd müſſen noch heüt dem M. L. alles gůt Chriſten ſein/die in baider geſtalt/ſeiner mainũg nach/das flaiſch vnd blůt Chriſti nyeſſen oder eſſen/es ſeyen halt Hürer oder bübinen/freſſer oder ſauffer/ſpyler/todſchläger/verräther/tyrannen/betrieger/oder wer ſy wöllen/iſt jm alles ain gůte gemainſchafft ſeiner hailigkait. Gleich wie L. ain leib Chriſti im Brot/vnd blůt im Kelch hat/alſo veränderen ſich ſeine glaubigen vnd Junger in die art vñ aigenſchafft Chriſti/dañ alle ſpeyß/ſo der menſch neüßt/verendert ſich inn die aigenſchafft der natur/ſolten ſy billich nach der art vñ aigenſchafft Chriſti/in der natur verendert werdẽ. Gleich wie das ain war iſt/ſo erſcheynet auch die frucht. Gleich wie vor L. vnd ſeine anhenger/den gemainen mann bewegt haben/im ſcheyn des wort Gottes/daſſelbig dapffer vermainende mit gegenweer

zuerhalten/leib vnd leben darob zelässen/bewegen sy yetzt die Fürsten/Herrn vnd Stett wider den Kaiser. Wee deß grossen blůtuergiessens/so sich schon erzaiget/so Got verhengē wirt/ vmb der falschen Prophetē vnd jrer anhenger willen/Jere.6. Ezechie.22. 23. Der Herr wölle die seinen dauon außfüren on widerstraich/in warer gedult vnter dem Creütz/vñ schatten seiner flügel/Psal.17.57. Dañ das Lämblin Christi můß dulden vnd getödt werdē biß zum ende der welt/Lu.17. Apo.13. Pilatus/Herodes/Annas vnd Caiphas/ob demselben ains werden/wie vor ob dem haupt/Lu.23. Dañ Christus ist vnter allem gwalt/hat sich kaines gwalts nie verwidert/also auch noch heüt nicht verwidern/Werden dem Kaiser geben was dem Kaiser zůgehört/vnd Got/was Got zůgehört/Mat.22. Dañ ain gewalt hat alles macht nach dem zeitlichen biß auff die straff Gottes/über welchen Got allain die rach gehört vñ kainem menschen/Ro.12. Heb.10. So finde ich kainē bestimpten gewalt vō Got/als den Kaiser/dañ auch alle Kaiser mit gewalt das Kaiserthumb noch heüt besitzen/vnd fürter besitzen werden/vntz auff die bestimpte zeit/dauon Daniel rede Dan.11. Das die rach Gotes über die gantz welt kōmen wirt/ Esa.24. Dann alles flaisch darff seines gewalts vnd behertschung. Christus aber ist nit ain außtayler des jrdischen erbs oder Reichs/es geschehe den seinen recht oder vnrecht/so vergelten vñ bezalen sy mit gedult vñ liebe. Alle cüsserliche ding/ auch leib vnd leben seind auch dem cüsserlichen gwalt vnderworffen/allain den waren glauben in Christo mag niemandt zwingen noch bewältigen/in welchem auch nicht ain jrdisch leben steht/sonder ain ewigs/das auch Got/noch kain creatur/weder im himel noch auf erd/nemē wirt/Ro.8. Mat.10. Ainen solchen glauben haben die waren Christen/darūb fragen sy nit nach dem jrdischen leben/Hebr.11. Lu.10. Collo.3. Wie dañ an vilen yetz erscheynet/dem Herren sey lob.

In summa/Ich will allen vermainten Euangelischen/vñ der selben lerer vñ Predicanten/kain ander gegentail stellen/ dañ den gecreützigten/geduldigen vnd liebhabenden Christū.

Wer den nit Predige/vñ lernet das widertail/der ist ain Widerchrist/es sey halt alt oder new Bapst oder Antichrist/vnd kündten halt so subtil vō Gots wort reden als Christus selbs/ so sy Predigen ausserhalb dem senfftmütigen vnd demütigen Christo/der allain gelernt můß werden vnter Creütz/gedult/ vnd liebe. Wer nit also lernt/vnd gelernet wirt/sy seyen halt wie Euangelisch sy wöllen/so werden sy Christo in das vrtail fallen/kōmen vnd sagen/Herr/haben wir nit in deinē namen Teüfel außtriben/oder Weissgesagt/Predigt/gessen vnd getruncken ꝛc? Wirt Christus antworten/Weicht all von mir jr übelthäter/ich keñ ewer nicht/Math.7. Lu.13. Ich wolt das sy (die die eng porten des Creütz Christi also scheühen/vnd andern schewlich machen) das vrtail Christi baß lesen vnd verstünden. Wa anderst ain glaub bey jnen wer/solten sy billich erschrecken/dañ warlich auff kain gschlecht diß vrtail deütlicher geht/als auf die newen Euangelischen Predicanten/vñ derselben Jünger. Vnd reden auch zum tail die warhait vor Christo/aber durch die eng porten/Math.7. haben sy nit willen/vnd andern auch gewert (das sy nit hindurch kommen/ Mat.23.) durch deß flaisches fürwurff/dadurch das schwert dem gmainen man in die hend boten/durch schufft vñ leren/ welche nachmals nach der red Jude inn der auffrhür Chore vmbkōmen sein/Als sy yetzt zumal/Fürsten/Stett vñ Herrn auch anraitzen/dahinder verstecken/den Chainischen weg zů lauffen/dadurch sy in irrthumb verschůt werdē/auß anweysung der Baalamischen Propheten. Werden noch mit gröfferm vñ erschröcklicherm blůtuergiessen/als im Baurnkrieg beschehen/all mit ainander in der auffthür Chore/vnd nicht vmb Christus willen verderben/Der Herr wöll die seinen dannen herauß füren.

Ich můß jn zeügknuß geben/das ich zů tail durch jre schrifften/leren vnd Predigen zů erkandtnuß drungen bin worden/ als nemlich/das ich nit klain von menschlichen satzungen des Bapstumbs besessen vñ gefangen bin gwesen. Welchs Bapstumb anders nicht ist dann besitzung des Satans/von dem ich

ich bald/durch jre lere vnd schrifften/zů der freyhait des flaischs erlößt ward/Wa ich vor band vnd gewissen hett/ward ich frey/das ich auch vor dem Herren (meins verstands dazů mal) mit solchen lerern aß vnd tranck/vnd gedacht bey mir/das wirt ain güter Christus sein/vnd legte mich auß solcher vrsach hart wider das Bapstumb mit allen schrifften/so mir darzů dienstlich waren/můßtē sich all zů disem verstand reymen/vnd auch war was/das den menschē nicht verunraint/was zum mund eingeht/sonder was vō hertzen herauß geht/2 Mat.15. Auch beicht halb/vnd anderer Bäpstlichen satzung vnd menschen dichten (welchs auch nicht ain klainer zwang dem flaisch/wiewol on waren gaist Christi) was/name ich alles gern an/waren auch die leren all an jn selbst nit vnrecht/Aber die gehaimnuß des creütz Christi/vñ die eng porten war dazumal/wie auch yetzt/von den Euangelischē lerern wenig oder gar nit gemelt/dadurch das flaisch auch der mensch gar (so auß der Babylonischen gefengknuß erlößt) wider in das frei Jerusalem gfürt wer wordē/oder noch gfürt wurd/bleibt wol verschwigen. Ja vil mehr/welche es melden vnd lernen/werden von solchen lerern verfolgt/werden selbst an jnen zů Hencker vnd verrätern. Darūb sy billich diser übelthäter sein/so Christus Mat.7.vō jm haißt weichen/die zů tail die warhait vnd das Euangelium lernē/vnd zaigen den weg wie ain hültzene hand auf ainer weg schaide. Darin fälet jn das creütz Christi/des sy sich weeren/vnd leren andere sampt jnen/sich solchs zů erweeren/sitzen hinter Fürsten/Herren vñ Stetten/so doch allain vnterm creütz die gedult gelernt můß werden/welche aller trübsal ain über winderin ist. Das ist das Lemble Christi/das den syg behaltē wirt/Apoc.17.vnd mit der Löw/Beer/Wolff/Hund vnd Leopard/so mit zeenden gegen ainander blecken/vnderstehn sich selb ainander zefressen.

Weh/weh der lere/vnd des Antichristischen Reichs/so an allen tailen sich erzaigt/vnd geoffenbart můß werdē. 2.Ti.3. Secht aber vnd höret all/wer augen vñ oren hat/zusehen vñ hören/wer die verfürer vñ aufrürer sind/das lamb Gottes/oder

oder die grausamen thier. Jr kinder Gottes/vermischt euch mit kainē tail/laßt euch niemañt verfürn/begert ewern feinden nichts übels/sonder güts zuthůn vnd zůbeschehen/vnd das von hertzen/jr habt nur ainen Richter/der ist im himel. Wirt der gewalt/darzů er gsetzt ist von Gott/Roma.13. das schwert nach Gottes gehaiß vñ befelch füren/so bistu schon vnderm schutz Gottes/leiblicher weiß. Wa er aber dz schwert nit recht fürt/beschützt die boßhait/vñ vertilgt die frümkait/liebt die lugen/vnd verfolgt die warhait/so hastu jn nur mit der vermanung sich zůbekern/zů gedulden/vnd Got die rach lassen/deß diener er ist/kain anders schwert oder widerstraich hat Christus den seinen befolhen zůgebrauchen. Wer anderst lernt/der ist ain Widerchrist/lugner vnd verfürer/1.Joā.4. 2.Jo.1. Wer den Christū anders sücht/als vnderm creütz in gedult/wirt jn nit finden/Got geb wie vil der hültzen creütz vnd händ auff der weg schalden auffgestelt sein/das lebendig creütz vñ hand Christi/zaigt den weg für sich/steht auch selbs nit still/vnd ist von anbegin/vnd wirt biß zum end nicht still stehn/dann es ist der weg/auß welchem die lere der warhait kumpt/vnnd ist die warhait/auß welcher warhait das leben kumpt/welches leben ist auß dem glauben/der glaubē gebürt all tugent/vnd die erkandtnuß Christi. Dañ das ist das ewig leben/das sy dich vatter waren Got/vnd Jesum Christū den du gesandt hast/erkennen/Joan.17. Das erkantnuß vnd lere Christi/ist nit das leben deß flaischs/als vnser aigenthumb/das wir mit vns bringen/sonder ain newe geburt von Gott/darunter die erbschafft des flaischs vnd bluts sterben vnd zů nicht můß werden/dañ wer sein erstes leben/vnd alles was er hat vnd vermag/will erhalten/der wirts verlieren/vnd wer es verleürt/der wirt es behalten zů ewigen leben/Mat.16.19. darff gar ainer klainen gegenweer/nur den rucken darhinder thůn/denselben vnter das creütz Christi darbieten/vñ dasselb vnserm maister vñ Herrn Christo/Lu.9.trewlich nachtragen/mit aller senfftmůt/lieb vnd gedult/Mat.11. wie die lemblin Gottes. Das ist die gegenweer der feind Christi/inn dem wir

Ja wiewol hie der Satan durch seine Propheten ainen geschmuck süchte/ vnd den zeitlichen gewalt dardurch ins Christenthumb vermischen will/ vñ sagen/ man müß den frümen beschützen (so sy jn doch beschedigen) wer ain obrer wolt sein/ so jm die vnderthanen nit hulffen sein gewalt/ zuerhalten den frümen vor den bösen/ zubeschützen? Ja so were niemandt sicher auff der welt. Vnd wöllen also/ das auch früme Christen Obrer mögen sein/ ja billicher/ als ainer auß der welt/ vnd bereden also vil frümer hertzen/ das sy sich mit aidspflichten bewilligen der Obrigkait das schwert helffen zuerhaltē/ mit geweer vnd gegenstraichen vnderm schein Christi/ da dañ nicht dann aigennützigkait solchs erfordert. Das wolte ich jn doch zulassen/ alle so aigens vermainen zuhaben/ vnd vmb aigenthumb schutz begern/ obrigkait anrüffen vnd clagen/ das die selbē die obrigkait schuldig sein helffen zubeschützen/ jr vñ anderer zeitlich aigenthumb in zeitlichem fridē zuerhalten/ dañ von disem geschlecht des aigenthumbs in der welt/ kompt die Obrigkait/ vnd derselbigen vnderthanen. Aber die gmainen Christi/ kömen nit vom aigenthumb/ sonder von Christo/ vñ seind desselben vnderthan/ vñ ist ain yeder schuldig seinē tail obrigkait/ die gaistlichen/ im gaistlichen frid/ die flaischlichen in flaischlichem fride/ die gaistlichen in Christo/ durchs wort in der gedult/ vnd liebe zů der gehorsam des vatters/ wie Christus als der vnschuldig gehorsam warde/ biß in den tod/ Die flaischlichen durch gewalt des schwerdts zur straff vnd rach der boßhait helffen zuerhalten/ sunst wurde im aigenthumb kain fride sein/ wie man spürt an allem flaisch. Das kompt alles auß Gottes gůte vnd barmhertzigkait/ ders waiß/ vñ dem menschen nur wol will vnd nicht übel. Vnd wiewol Got seinen friden allen menschen an hat botten/ aber nye all angenommen/ hatt der gůttig Got auch gewalt (der von oben herab) auff das erdtrich gesetzt/ eüsserlichen friden zuerhalten/ wa der ware frid Gottes/ welcher in kainem aigenthūb sein mag/ nicht angenommen wirdt/ auff das sy doch nit gar an zeitlichen gůttern vnd leben vnder ainander verderben.

weret für all überwinden/ vnd den sytg zum ewigen/ vñ nit jrdischen/ behalten werden/ Ro. 8. 1. Joā. 5. Darumb sagt Christus/ Frō wet euch/ ich hab die welt überwunden/ Jo. 16. Dañ der jrdisch sytg gebürt kain überwindung/ kompt allweg ain stercker/ der jn auch überwindt vñ beherrscht. Darumb es nit der sytg Christi/ sonder des tadelhafftigē flaisch sytg ist/ der mit dem flaisch vergeht/ dañ wa der warhafftig Christus mit leer vnd leben regiert/ da hat alles flaischliches regiment ain end/ vnd wa das leiblich/ flaischlich regiment regiert/ da hat Christus am ende/ vñ müß von denselben grentzen vnd örtern der Gaderener Mat. 8. vmb zeitlichs schadens willē (welchs dañ alles nit mainander ain Sawwerck ist) weichen/ das billich gedult soll werden vñ der erlösung willen der zwayer menschē/ so von legion des feinds besessen waren durch tausentfaltige arglistigkait. Welche zwen/ seind göttliche vñ brüderliche lieb/ so lange zeit vom Satan verhindert vnd besessen ist worden durch vnser aigenthumb. Vnd wiewol wir sehē das die zwen man von Christo (die groß schadē than haben/ vñ von jn noch heüt niemant in der welt sicher ist) erledigt sein/ vñ nun Christo nachfolgen. So aber den Gergisanern ain klain schade beschicht an zeitlichen gütern/ das alles vmb lieb Gottes vñ des nächsten willen gedult sol werden/ bitten sy Christū bald von jnen zů weichen/ dañ es ist jn der schad der aigennützigkait lieber/ welche die gantze welt verfürt vñ plagt/ dadurch die liebe Gottes vnd des nächsten besessen vnd verhindert wirt. Thůt Christus nach jrem begeren/ vnd geht hinweck/ so nimpt dañ die vngerechtigkait überhand/ vnd müß die lieb Mat. 24. erkalten. Aigennützigkait/ vnstümlich herschen/ vnd alle menschen beschedigen/ wer fürüber an solchen ortē geht/ vnd wie groß schaden die aigennützigkait thůt/ durch jr besessne/ vnbesinte weiß/ ja das die gantz welt selbs vnder ainander verderbet/ noch duldet mans lieber/ dañ den frümen/ liebhabenden Christum/ der solche behafft von des Teüfels gwalt vnd beschedigung/ ledig mache. Wee den blinden Gergisanern/ ja der gantzen welt.

Ja

Es iſt aber nit der güten/ es ſey obrer oder vnderthan/ ſonder der böſen ſchuld/ vnd Got laßt es vmb des beſſern willen zů/ auf das nit noch ergers den menſchen widerfar/ vnd ſy nicht gar an dem zeytlichen leben verderben. Vnnd auß diſem wol günnen vnd lieb Gottes zů den menſchen/ ſeind auch ſchuldig vmb der lieb willē die waren Chriſten/ als Gottes kinder den außwendigen gwalt alle gehorſam vnd vnderthenigkait zůbe weiſen/ biß in den leiblichen tod. Aber Got zegeben/ was Got zůgehört/ Mat. 22. das iſt/ wa man das wort vñ die ehr Got tes anrüret/ darwider zůhandeln/ daſſelbig Got trewlich be halten/ vnd dem gewalt das leiblich leben in aller gedult vnd lieb darumb zůlaſſen/ als einem Herrn übers flaiſch/ vñ nicht über wort vnd gaiſt. Alſo warde auch Petro vom Herrn befol hen den Zol zugeben/ Mat. 17. dañ der fridſam Got/ will nur frid an den menſchen haben/ gaiſtlich vnd leiblich. Das ſeind die waffen vnd ritterſchafft der waren Chriſten/ wie Paulus 2. Cor. 10. meldet/ ſo getrew iſt der ewig Got. Alſo ward auch dem Moſe das ſchwert über die ſittlichen ſatzungē befolhen/ auf das frid vndern kindern der boßhait erhaltē wurde. Auch alſo Joſua/ Dauid vnd andern mer/ ſo zů der ſtraff von Got über die kinder der boßhait auffgeſetzt waren/ aber alles nur den zeitlichen friden zůerhaltē/ dadurch das flaiſchlich Iſrael in ainigkait zůſamen erhalten wurde. Aber Chriſtus vnd die ſeinigen/ haben ain ander ampt/ weder das Moiſiſch ampt/ haben noch begerē nit flaiſch frid/ wie dazumalen ſein můßt/ ſonder den frid Chriſti/ wie er ſagt/ frid zuhaben vnderainander/ Mein friden gib ich euch/ mein friden laß ich euch/ nicht als jn die welt gibt/ ewer hertz erſchreck nicht/ Joā. 14. dañ diſen troſt des gaiſts Gottes keñt die welt nit/ darumb waiß ſy vmb den friden des hertzens nicht. Diſer fride hat kain klage über alle zeitliche verfolgung nicht/ wie grauſam ſy ymer ſein mag. Kainen ſolchen friden hat kain menſch vor Chriſto nye gehabt/ der vns erſt zů diſem friden erlößt hat/ vnd vns nütz iſt ſein leiblich abſchaiden/ ſonſt wer der troſt/ Joā. 16. vns nit worden/ das wir all zeitliche trübſal/ im fride deß hertzens erdulden

erdulden on widerſprechen/ das ſeind recht Chriſten (vñ nicht die verkläger/ ſo menſchen vor menſchē verklagen/ vnd ſonſt kainen troſt wiſſen als die welt kinder) dañ Chriſtus iſt jr rich ter vñ Herr/ der auch den gantzen vmbkraiß der erden richten wirt Act. 17. ſo vil ain höhers ampt hat Chriſtus weder Moi ſes/ Heb. 3. 8. 2. Cor. 3. das ſy nimer durch das geſatz verklaget werden/ auch niemandt durch daſſelbig verklagen.

Wa Moiſes nach dem gſatz verklagt oder richt/ da iſt Chri ſtus/ Gal. 5. kain nütz/ darüb ſagt Chriſtus zů den Juden/ ſo in jn nit glaubten/ Jo. 5. Ich ſag nit das ich euch vor dem vat ter verklagen will/ Moiſes auf welchen jr hofft/ derſelb wirt euch verklagen/ dañ Chriſtus noch die ſeinigē ſeyen nit verklä ger/ weder gaiſtlich noch leiblich/ ſonder glaubig/ liebhaben de/ geduldig vnd ſenfftmütiger hertzen/ vnd zů ſolchen glaubi gen ſagt er Jo. 8. Werdet jr bleiben in meiner rede/ ſo werdt jr meine rechte Jünger ſein/ vnd werdet die warhait erkennen/ vnd die warhait wirt euch frey machen. Diſe freyhait Chriſti iſt über alles Herr/ vnd alle creaturn müſſen jr dienen/ vnd ſy beherrſcht doch nit/ vnd dienet allain/ 1. Cor. 9. 10. Dann der höchſt Herr ſelbs Chriſtus iſt nit kömen/ das er beherrſchen/ be gwältigen/ vrtailen/ regiern/ auch niemant vor jm verklagen laſſen wölle/ auch ſelbſt niemant verklagt/ ſonder er ſelbſt ge dient/ ſich herrſchen/ beg wältigen/ verklagen/ verurtailen/ verdamen/ vnd jm vnrecht thün laſſen. Das iſt vnſer ſpiegel/ darin wir ſehen ſollen/ ob wir die gſtalt Chriſti habē oder nit/ ſo wurde der zanck der Oberkait halben bald aufgehebt. Wie wol ſich hie der widertail der göttlichen männer/ als Abrahā/ Jacob/ Moiſe/ Dauid/ vnd dergleichen behelffen wöllen/ vñ ſagen/ Sy habē auch den gaiſt Gotes gehebt/ vñ das ſchwert gefürt wider die boßhafftigen/ vñ wer den gaiſt Gottes habe/ der hab auch den gaiſt Chriſti. Hie ſchmucket ſich der Satan on allen vnterſchaid hart/ ſein herligkait vnd aigenthumb zů erhalten. Welchs zů der zeit ſein můßt/ wie vor angezaigt/ auß der ordnung des getrewen Gottes/ der des verfallen flaiſches aigenſchafft erkañt/ vnd wißte das auſſer der leiblichen forcht

alda nit fride würd sein / wie von stunden an Cayn vnd Abel erschun / Gen. 4. die weil der gaistlich frid Christi noch nit sein mocht / so erst Christus erworbē hat durch sein abschaid nach dem flaisch / da er allem flaischlichen regiment ain end gibt / vnd sagt Jo. 19. *Consummatum est*, Allain durch seinē gaist in den seinigen leiblicher weiß regiert / vnnd vnderschaidet den gaist des klagenden vnd rächigen Helie / von dem gaist den er gab / auch den seinigen geben / die dadurch geborn waren / vñ noch werden / da die seinigen (die solchen gaist von jm erkanten vñ empfunden hetten) die rach Helie Lu. 9. üben wolten / vermanet er sy seines gaists / vñ Helias gaistes vnderschaid / vñ sagt / Wist jr nit wes gaistes kinder jr seyt! Des menschē sun ist nit kōmen yemants zůuerderbē / sonder zů sāligen / so können die seinen auch niemant verderben. Nun het ye der straffent vnd rächig Helias / 4. Reg. 1. auch den gaist Gottes? So hat Christus nach diser Prophetē mainung vnrecht gethan (so es ain gaist Gottes vnd Christi ist / in der wirckung / vñ vnderschaid der ämpter / des gesatz vñ ampt Christi) das er nicht (so es ain ampt sein solt) den Jüngern die rach zů hat gelassen / die weil sy den Heliam anzaigen?

Weytter schmuckt sich die aigennützigkait mit der lieb des nechsten / vnd sagt / soll ich meinē nechsten (so man jn verderben will) nit zů hilff kōmen / so ichs wol vnderkōmen mag / dz sey ye ain yeder schuldig zuethůn / Got hab es geboten / wa ich meinen nechsten in nöten sehe / jn nit zůuerlassen / dann was ich gern hab / das sol ich auch wie Mat. 7. ainē andern thůn! Solche leibliche hilff wolt Petrus dem Herrn Christo gethan haben / Höre aber was Christus thet / den Petrus vmb leiblicher lieb Christi willen belaidiget vnd schlůg / den machet der Herr auch leiblich wider gesund / Lu. 22. so gar wolt der Herr / auch noch nit will / kain hilffe noch lieb / dadurch ander beschedigt oder gehasst mögen werdē / ja auch das wir vnser höchste feind nur lieben / vnd nit hassen / Lu. 6. ob sy vns wol sament-lich vñ sonderlich belaidigen. Es ist ain leib vnder dem haupt Christi / vnd kain sonders glid / leidet das ain / so ist das ander schuldig

schuldig mit zuleiden / 1. Cor. 12. Es ist der leib der gedult vnd lieb / vnd niemant zůbelaidigen vmb ains andern lieb willen / oder man brächt die lieb an vnsern feinden / vñ fälet des wegs Christi / vñ wurde nur ain flaischliche bůntnuß darauß / wie die gantz welt anainander zůhilff kompt / hilff du mir / so hilff ich dir ꝛc. Wa aber ich / oō die sich Christi in der warhait annemē / yemant zů hilff mögen kōmen in nöten / es sey freünden oder feinden (so es beschehen mag on yemants belaidigung) wirt bey waren Christen nit aufhörn / noch mangel habē / vmb warer liebe willē Christi jres maisters / nach laut desselben wort / auch bezeügt von jm für seine feind biß in tod / die sy auch für jre feind biß in tod bezeügen werdē. Das haisst ain ware gantze lieb in Christo / die niemant belaidiget / weder freünd noch feind. Ain solche gaistliche bündtnuß hat Christus mit den seinigen / durch ainen frey willigē gaist / so Christus den seinigen (die in jn glaubē) erlangt hat vō vater. Durch ain solch gehorsam des gaistes / das weder flaisch noch blůt / noch desselbē regiment / noch trang von obern / noch vnderthanē nicht nützt noch vermag / dañ an Christo selb Mat. 16. dz flaisch schwach vñ der gaist ghorsam vñ willig was. Vnd wa noch flaischlich regiment sich ins reich Christi vermischt / so ist Christus vergebens vñ vmb sonst zur gehorsam des vaters gestorbē / welche ghorsam allain gedult vñ liebe / in creütz vñ trübsal gegē freünden vñ feinden gelernt vñ bezeüget hat / vnd kain andere herschung / gwalt / noch obrigkait / wie vast sich der gegentail mit schufftē reißt / so er zů seinē aigenthumb vñ nutz braucht / dañ wer der maist wil sein / der sey der andern aller diener Mat. 20 Da wirt ain schlechte leibliche herrligkait verhandē sein. Wie wol die widerspiecher Christum vnd die seinē beschuldigen / sy wöllen dem Kaiser widerspiechen / den zinß verbieten / mit gehorsam sein / kain oberkait habē / selbs Herren sein / vñ nennen sich ain Künig der Juden / vñ dergleichen ꝛc. Höre was der Satan vnd die sünigen / hie für dick vnd list brauchen / weß sy vol sein / vnd auß überflüssiger bosshait übergeben / das beschuldigen sy Christum / vnd die seinigen.

Ain

Ain frag/vnd erett ainer auß der welt kindern/ vnd allen vermainten Christen/ newe vñ alt (so das leiblich schwert im schein Christi erhalten wöllen) auf die ban/ob sy nit mit irem hauffen begeren/vnd zancken darüb/leiblich zůherrschen/vñ wolt Got/ das nit ain yeder für sich selbs beger zůherrschen/ damit das niemant leiblicher weiß über jn herrsey/vñ seiner aigennützigkait willen/vnd begern nur den schutz/schirm vñ sicherhait. Aber den gwalt so auch zů schutz gehört/ will niemant dulden/ dañ der gewalt mag recht oder vnrecht thůn/ auß der verhengknuß Gottes/dem er zů der straff beuor behalten ist. Also richtet Pilatus über das vnschuldig blůt Christi/ auß dem gwalt von oben herab/Jo.19.welchs auch Christus erduldet/vnd die beschützung Pilati nit begert/ darzů er auch gesetzt war/als wol als zum gwalt/das doch Christus nit erfordert noch begert/sonder die lemlin Gotes/müssen vndern gwalt beherschet werden biß zů ende der welt. Auß welchem Petrus vnd Paulus/Ro.13.1.Pet.2.befelhen aller menschlicher ordenung vnderthan zusein/ nachdem flaisch biß in den tod/wie vor vñ nach/die gehorsam der Christen (wie weit sich die selb erstreckt) anzaigt ist. Aber sy werden niemant beherrschen noch bewältigen/sonder allen gewalt erdulden/in der gehorsam Gottes/zum preiß jres Christs.

Nun geben sy antwort/ Welche der Obrigkait gehorsamer seyen/die also beschützt wöllen sein/vnd kainen gewalt wöllen erdulden/ Oder die so kainen schutz begern/vnd allen gewalt in der liebe Gottes erdulden? O du blinde/verkerte art/ du můst wol erstummen ob disem vrtail.

Aber dise verkerte art thůt wie vor/sy rhůmen sich Christi/ vnd seines gaistes herrschung/vnd begern doch ainen andern herrscher weder seinen gaist/kömen im schein Christi/vñ wöllen ainen Künig haben/ aber doch der sy nur beschützet/ vnd über sy nit gwalt het/vñ sprechen doch wie die Haiden haben. Hör wie sagt Samuel/1.Sa.8.zů den Juden/da sy ainen beschützer/nach art der Haiden vorderten/sagt er jnen auch den gewalt/welcher ains Haidnischen Künigs recht ist. Vñ was Got zů Samuel sagt/das sy nit jn/sonder Got selbs verworffen hetten/vnd gestattet jrs aignen vnfals begern. Also auch Christus/sagt zů seinen jüngern Mat.20.Jr wißt nit was jr bitt/vnd bot sy den Kelch des leidēs in der gedult an. Mit solcher herrligkait beherscht vnd regiert des menschen sün durch seinen gaist mit den seinigen. Sagt auch weyter zů seinen jungern Mar.10.Jr wißt das vnder den Haiden/die so für Herren gehalten wöllen sein/die beherrschen sy/vñ die mächtigen vnder jnen faren mit gewalt/ aber also söll es vnder euch nit sein/sonder welcher wil groß sein vnder euch/der sol ewer diener sein/vnd welcher vnder euch der fürnemest will sein/ der soll aller knecht sein ꝛc. Dañ welcher sich durch die zucht vnd straff des gaistes/durch das wort deß Herren nicht vermanen noch züchtigen läßt/der ist kain Christ/Heb.12.der můß dem gsatz vnder worffen sein/Gal.3.Allain das wort des Herrn ist der Christen richter vnd schwert/Ephe.6. Math.10. kainen andern Richter vnd schwert/ werden die waren Christen nit brauchen/vnd wer das veracht/der veracht nit Christū/sonder den vater der jn gesañt hat/ Mat.10. Wie auch Samuel nit veracht ward/sonder Got. Hie ist mehr dañ Samuel/Moises/Vätter vnd Propheten/Mat.12. Sy verachten den Sun vnd nit den knecht. So man sich dermassen an knechten vergriffen hat/wie vil mer am sun? vnd gschicht den vermainten Christen billich nach jrem begern/das jn Gott obrer wirt geben/vnd der gnůg/so des Künigs recht brauchen werdē/die weil sy nach Haidnischen sitten/ laut der wort Christi/Obrer fordern/vnd auch obrer werden/die sy entlichen mit gwalt beherrschen/vnd einher faren. Dieweil Christus auß Jüdischen vnd Haidntschē satzungen (so baide den flaischlichen menschē beherrschen vnd regiern/habē müssen/vnd nit den gaistlichen Christū/dañ wer den gaist Christi nit hat/ö ist nit sein Ro.8.) ains hat gemacht/vnd Ephe.2.die mittel wand zerbrochen/ vnd alles zusamen than/ Haidntsche vñ Jüdische satzungen. Welch davon erlößt seind/werden vnder Christū gethan/als ain new geburt vō flaisch vñ tod/in gaist vnd lebē 1.Jo.3.4.5.

welchs

welchs gaistlich lebē allain lieb vnd gedult ist/da nimer Moses noch Haiden/sonder Christen sein/ dann ausser Christo ist weder das gesatz der Juden / noch Hayden (die jn Roma.2. selbs ain gesatz sein) kain nütz zum leben/allain am zaum des boßhaffigen vnuernünfftigen flaisches. Es sey das flaische on gaist wie frum es wölle/so darff es ainen zaum/dann ain vnuernünfftig thier frümmer ist dann das ander / das spürt man bey Rossen vnd Eseln/noch müssen sy Psalm.32.all gezeümbt werden/welcher zaum Gala.3.der tod büchstab vnd menschliche ordenung ist/vnd nit Christi/dañ der gaist Christi (ausserhalb der forcht deß gesatz) das leben gibt/Roma.8. Die der gaist Gottes treibt/seind Gottes kinder/dañ wir haben nit ain knechtlichen gaist empfangen/das wir vns abermals förchten müssen / Sonder wir haben ainen kindtlichen gaist empfangen/ durch welchen wir schreyen/ Abba pater/ So seind wir kinder vnd erben/ so wir mit leiden/ spricht aber nit/ herischen ! Es straffe auch Christus / noch die seinigen/ niemandt durch das gesatz / es sey Jüdisch oder Haidnisch/ sonder allain durch das wort des vaters/welches ist Christus. Wer Christū nit in jm hat/lebt auch dem wort nicht/ist nicht dann flaisch on gaist. Wer aber Christum in jm hat / dem ist das wort ain gewisser herischer im hertzen/ darff kains anderen Herren/wie Paulus Col.1.meldet. Die so anders straffen/ als durchs wort (welchs ist Christus/ Joan. 1.8. seind Oberkait der finsternuß/ Vnd befalch zůdancken denen/die da zogen seind in das reich des Wort/welchs ist der Sun/das liecht der welt/ so Johannis am ersten alle menschen erleüchte.

Darumb ist nun hinfortan / das gsatz der Juden vnd Haiden ain ding (ausser Christo) Jnn Christo ist weder Jud noch Haid/sonder ain lebendige creatur in Gott/Gala.3.5.vnd 6. Wie wol die vermainten Euangelischen Christen / zů ainem deckmantel jres flaischs/vñ zů beschützung jres aigenthübs/ das Kaiserlich recht/im schein ainer hailigkait abstellen/vnd nach dem gesatz Moisi richten / vnd den Herren Christum mit blůt vermailigen. Jst doch/ausser Christo/Juden vñ Haiden ain gesatz/wie vast sy sich des Kaisers recht widern/ wirdt sy dennocht jr falscher schein nichts helffen/dañ Christus ist des gsatzes ende zů der frümkait/ainem yeglichen der da glaubt Rom.10. Darumb sagt Paulus 1.Cor.6. Es ist schon ain fahl vnter euch an Christo/so jr vmb das zeitlich/ recht erfordert/ darzů von den vnglaubigen. Jst dañ die weißhait Christi nit vnter euch/das ainer den andern vermanet bey der gedult vñ liebe/so doch der aller schlechteist/so er euch der lieb vnd der gedult Christi ermanet (ja so jr brüder der lieb vñ gedult weren) euch selbst verrichten sollent / so thünd jrs dennocht vor den vnglaubigen/dañ die brüderschafft in Christo/ist gedult vnd lieb/welche weder Obrer noch vnderthan nicht begert/ noch hat/sonder alles in Christo ist/dañ wa nicht obrer sein/da kan kain vnderthan sein/vnd seind doch die waren Christen/aller Creaturen vmb Gottes vnd jres Christs willen vnderthan. Seyt der könen ist/der vor zůsenden was/vnd vor das flaisch ausserhalb der lebendigē krafft Christi/vñ seins gaists/durch die forcht des gsatz/müßt erhalten werden vntz auf Christum Gal.3. vnd das Zepter vnd maisterschafft bey dem gschlecht Juda bleiben/rō dem Christus nach dē flaisch Ro.1.9.Apo.5 Heb.7.geborn ward/ Darüb sagt der Patriarch Jacob zů seinem sun Juda/Gen.49. das das Zepter noch maister von seinem samen/zů seinen füssen nit aufgehebt sol werden/biß der Helde kem/zů welchem das volck fallen wurd. Auch/laut des Jacobs rede/von dem leiblichē volck Gottes/zů der zůkunfft Christi/das Zepter genōmen ward/vñ vnder die Haiden/als Sewhirten des reichs geworffen/dann alle jrdische reich vnd reichthüb seind vor Gottes angesicht/im reich Christi nur ain Sawwerck/so den weingarten Gottes zerwülen/Psalm.80. vnd dieselbigen regierer/beschützer vnd herischer/gegen dem reich Christi/so yetzund regiert in den seinigē/auch yetzmalen nur Sewhirten/dañ ausser Christo ist kain glauben mer/er sey Jud/Haid oder vermaint Christen/Johan.15.2.Johan.1.3. Johannis am 1. Wer nit durch die forcht des worts Christi vermanet vnnd gestraffet mag werden/der ist kain Christ.

Auch wer anderst/ es sey halt durch das gesatz Gottes nach dem büchstaben vnd eüsserlichem schwerdt/ als die vermainten Christen thün/ strafft oder vermant/ dañ durch die senfften vnd demüttigen wort Christi/ welchs wort allain gedult vnd liebe ist/ der ist auch kain Christ. Dann Christo ist macht geben über alles flaisch/ Matth. 28. Das dise macht Christi durch seinen gaist/ Roma. 8. das flaisch in volkumliche forcht vnd zucht bringt. Der auch Johan. 6. vnd 2. Corint. 3. das leben gibt/ vnd nicht tödt/ dann niemandt mag das schwerdt Mosi/ des knechts Gottes/ welchs er selber übergab in seine abschaid/ vnd auff Christum zaigt/ Da er sagt Deute. 18. Es wirdt ainer vnter eweren brüdern aufferstehn/ den hörent/ wie Christus selbst bezeüget/ Johan. 5. So jr Moisen glaubt/ so glaubt auch mir/ dañ er hat von mir gweissagt/ vnd das hail kompt Jo. 4. von den Juden ꝛc. Seyt nun Christus kömen ist/ so darff ich Mosen nimer hören/ so nur des gsatz schwert het/ vnd nit des gaists gesatz/ sonder Christum durchs wort/ das ist/ Hebre. 4. das zwaischneidig schwerdt/ güts vnd böses zůschaiden. Vnter die bösen/ gehört auch das schwert der bösen/ vnd böß herischer/ nach jrer aignen bösen flaischlichen art/ damit sy gleich wol auß aigennützigkait den leiblichen friden anainander vmb jres aigenthumbs willen/ erhalten/ dañ es stimpt Christus nicht mit Belial/ 2. Corinth. 6. Aber der frid Christi ist anders/ bringt dem/ der jn warhafftig hat/ flaisch vnd alles aigenthumb/ vnfrid an jm selbst on menigklichs beladigung/ sonder gegen freünden vnnd feinden frid. Das ist der frid Christi/ dauon Christus sagt/ nit wie jn die welt gibt/ dann sy halt nur frid vmb jres aigenthůbs willen/ so sy dariñ beladigt wirt/ hat sy schon vnfrid.

Es ist auch bey den alten Christen/ zů der zeyt der Apostel/ biß auf den Kaiser Constantinum/ kain leiblicher gwalt noch schwert vnder den Christen nicht gebraucht/ noch vnder jnen nach dem befelch jres maisters nit gestatt worden/ sonder allain das schwerdt des worts/ wer solches nach genůgsamer zeügknuß nit hören hat wöllen/ den habē sy für ainen Haiden vnd

vnd vnglaubigen gehalten. Da aber der Bapst/ als ain diener der Kirchen dazumaln sich mit dem Leuiathan/ dem zeytlichen gwalt verheyratet/ vntern schein Christi. Da ward der Antichrist gemacht vnd geborn/ wie yetz geoffenbart ist/ dañ die gehaimnuß der boßhait/ 2. Thessalo. 2. ist lang verborgen gelegen. Auch hat sy sich ain gůte zeit lang/ aber nun falschem schein/ biß die boßhait der scheynenden Gaistligkait sich hat öffnen müssen (auch wie yetz der new Antichrist) vast mit der schufft beholffen/ als falsche hyrte/ des die Schaf nicht aigen sein/ vnd zum tach einsteigen/ welch nur kommen das sy fressen/ rauben/ vnnd vmbbringen/ Johan. 10. Ist der gaistlich Teüfel vnd sein hauffen/ so Johan. 8. von anfang ain mörder ist/ auch mit gewalt darein gefallen/ das schwerdt gar von weltlichem gewalt geraubt vnd gestolen. Ja vester würgen vnd tödten weder kain Haidnischer Tyrann nye than hatt/ vnd das aller grewlichest thier/ weder die andern seine genossen/ was es nit frißt/ das verstampt/ zertritt/ vnd verwüst es durch den falschen ban/ so gar offenbart sich die boßhait. Wie wol etlich trew Pilati sůne/ fragen/ Ob Christus ain Künig sey? So man jn dann/ Johan. 8. sagt auß Christus mund/ sein Reich sey nicht von diser welt/ vnd gern den Christum wolt ertretten vor den falschen Judē (das ist/ von den falschen Got bekennern) so noch heüt Christum übergeben/ sagen/ vnd wöllen sy kainen solchen Künig haben/ des Reich nicht von diser welt ist/ sonder ainen Kaiser/ deß Reich von diser welt ist/ Thůn auch recht/ dann es seind welt vnd nit Gottes kinder/ so müssen sy auch durch der welt Regenten/ daruon Paulus Ephe. 6. redet/ so wider Christum streitten/ beherischt werden/ vnd nicht von Christo/ dañ er ist jn ain thörlicher Künig. Da jn das volck zum zeitlichen Künig machen wolt vmb jrer zeitlichen gůtthaten willen/ so sy von jm empfangen hetten/ floh er vnd wiche von jnen/ Johan. 6. Solt wol noch weyter oder gar von söllichen Propheten weichen/ so den geduldigen vnd liebhabenden Christum vnder gaistlichē schein/ mit dem weltlichen gewalt verheyraten wöllen. Ob aber wie vor ain

new̄er Antichrist geborn wurde/oder gmacht möcht werden. Ich hoffe aber der Herr werde es fürkommen/ vmb sein selbst willen/dadurch die seinigen nicht zů Sew vñ zů Seehirten/ so den Weinberg Gottes zerwülen/Psalm.79. vñ 80. Sonder zů schaf vnd schafhyrten behalten werden/ die seinen Weinberg pflantzen/ vnd nicht abetzen/ vnd ainiger Christ vnnser ertzhirt bleibe/von nun an vntz in ewigkait/Amen.

Zum letsten/vnd zum beschluß/setze ich allen/so das reich Christi mit weltlichē gewalt vermischen/ vñ das böß vñ gůt anderst vnterschaiden öd außreüten wöllen/dañ durchs wort vñ gaist Gottes. Das vrtail vnd gleichnuß Christi entgegen/ Math.13. Das himelreich ist gleich ainem menschen der gůten samen auf seinen acker säet/Da aber die menschen schliefen/kame ain feind/vnd säet vnkraut darunder/oder entzwischen dem Waitzen/ vnnd gienge darvon. Da nun das kraut wůchs/vnnd frucht bracht/fand sich auch das vnkraut. Da tratten die knecht zů dem hausvatter/vnnd sprachen/Herr/ hastu nicht gůten samen auff deinen acker gesäet/ wa her hat er dann das vnkraut? Vnnd er sprach/ das hat ain feind gethan. Da sprachen die knechte/ Wilt du dann/ das wir hingehn/ vnd es außjetten oder außreütten? Er sprache/ nayn/ mit nicht/auff das jr nicht auch damit den Waitzen außraufsent/so jr das vnkraut außjettent/Lassents baide mitainander wachssen biß zů der erndte oder schnitt/ vnd zů der erndte zeit will ich zů den schnittern sagen/ samblet vorhin das vnkraut/vnnd bindent es zů bündtelin/ das man es verbrenne/ Aber den Waitzen sammelent mir inn meine Schewren ꝛc. Vnd da jn die Jünger frageten/ was die gleichnuß bedeütet? Hören die außlegung Christi/vnd laßt die widersprecher selbs darüber vrtailen/Ob Christus den seinigen das schwerdt des leiblichen gewalts übergebe/oder befelhe das vnkraut auß zů jetten vor dem ende der welt/ Jesus antwort vnnd sprach zů seinen Jungern/Des menschen Sun ist der gůten samen säet/ der Acker ist die Welt/der gůt Samen die kinder des Reichs/ das vnkraut seind die kinder der boßhait/der feind der sy säet/ ist

ist der Telfel/ die Erndte ist das ende der welt/ die schnitter seind die Engel. Gleich wie man das vnkraut außjettet/vnd mit feür verbrendt/ also wirt es auch am ende der welt gehn/ Des menschen Sun wirt seine Engel senden/ vnd sy werden samlen auß seinē reich alle ergernuß/ vñ die da vnrecht thůn/ werden sy in das feür werffen/ da wirdt sein heülen vnd zeen klapffen/Dann werden die gerechten leüchten wie die Sonn in jres vatters reich/wer oren hat zůhören/der hör.

Nun mercken die widersprecher/ was hie inn diser zeit der Herr Christus/ als ain säligmacher/ vnnd nicht als ain verderber (allen menschen zů der erlösung biß auff die bestimpte zeyt des gestrengen gerichts/ da kain zeyt der büßfertigkait mehr sein mag) seinen knechten befilhet/ als den menschen/ so nur das auß wendig vnnd gegenwürtig/vnd nicht das zůkünfftig vnd inn wendig richten/ dadurch die genad Gottes verkürtzt/ auch der Waitz außgerafft werden möcht/ es het ye Christus dise Gleichnuß sunst nicht geredt/ dann dieweyl der mensch inn leiblichem leben ist/ Er sey wie böß er wöll/so mag er durch die genad Christi/ vnnd erzaigung der seinigen gedult vnd liebe/zů der besserung bekert werden/dañ es seind zwelff stund im tag/wie der Herr selbst/Johannis am 11.cap. meldet/ so er aber außgereüt/ wirdt es lang nicht beschehen. Darumb auch der senfftmüttig vnnd diemüttig Christus den seinigen befilcht/Johannis am 13. vnd Matthei am 11.cap. von jm zůlernen/ dem menschen aller seiner zeit getrewlich zůzewarten. Will auch den seinigen durch dise Gleichnuß befolhen haben zůwarten/ vnnd befilcht nie mandt mit dem schwerdt zů vrtailen/noch zů richten/wie Mathei am fünfften gar nahent das gantz capitel bezeügt/niemandt zů zwingen/noch zů herrschen/ sonder sich bezwingen vnd bewältigen lassen/vnd vns vnder aller gedult leeren darzůbietten. Die es aber anders thůn/die seind der welt vnd nicht Christi/ vnglaubig/ vnnd nicht glaubig. Die mit dem schwerdt fechten/müssen durch das schwerdt gericht werden/wie Johannes in Apocalip.am 13.capitel beschreibt/auch Math.am 16.

Also

Also müssen die vnglaubigen / seyt Christus (das scharpffe schwerdt des worte / das er selbst ist) in die welt kommen (wa dem nicht glaubt) selbs durch das schwerdt anainander verderben vnd fressen / Luce am 21. Dann wer nicht glaubt / der ist schon gericht / Johannis am 3. Darumb saget der Herre zů denen die jm nachfolgen wolten / Matthei am 8. Das sy die todten jre todten liessen begraben / dañ kain frümkait ist ausser Christo / so sein übelthäter vnnd flaisch frum̃ / als boßhait vnd vnrain. In Christo ist das wort / das schwerdt durch den glauben / damit die Christen richten vnd gericht werden / kain ander schwerdt ist jnen von Christo befolhen zůgebrauchen. Wer dem nicht glaubt / den selbigen sollen sy meyden / vnd sich dauon absündern / biß man sich bekert / so offt jm glaubt wirt getrewlichen inn der gedult vnd lieb wider annemen. Das ist der waren Christen gericht in diser zeit / kain anders wirt jnen von jrem Christ vergonnt vnd befolhen. Vnd ain solche raynigkait / darinn die seinigen rain bleiben / vnnd jnen alle ding rain seind / werden die waren Christen brauchen / in der freyhait des gaistes. Was zů senfftmůt / dultmůt / demůt / durch die hoffnung des glaubens in der lieb dienet / vnd ausserhalb deß wirdt kain ding rain sein / wie vast sich der Satan hinder den spruch Pauli schmuckt / Tito 1. Den rainen seyen alle ding rain / den vnrainen seyen alle ding vnrain ꝛc. Was namen vnd befelch vor Christo hat / das wirt alle ding vor Christo genendt / als glaube / liebe / hoffnung / gedult / senfftmůttigkait / diemůttigkait / rainigkait des hertzens / sittlichait / vnnd all ander tugent vnnd kunst seind allain durch den glauben / der die rainigkait ist / rain / vnnd ausser des glaubens / seind alle tugent vnd künst / wie köstlich sy ymmer seind / an jn selbs ain vnrainigkait vnnd grewel vor dem angesicht Gottes. Als man dann vil frummer Haiden gefunden hat / so grosse zucht / tugent vnd kunst gehabt haben / aber jnen als vnrain geacht ist / vmb des vnglaubens willen vor dem angesichte Gottes. Vnd wann man der Engel vnnd aller Apostel / Ja Christus werck selbs thete / ausser des waren glaubens inn Christo / so

weren

weren sy vnrain. Dannenher füret der Paulus disen spruch / das alle tugent ausser deß glaubens in Christo vnrain seind / vnd im glauben all rain / vnd nicht das dardurch verstanden werde / das man darumb ainicherlay ausser Christus befelch sich gebrauchē mög / wie sich der Satan mit der freyhait Christi schmuckt. Die waren Christen werden sich der freyhait (es seyen böß oder frum̃) zůbeherrschen vnd regiern) zů kainem gewalt oder Obrigkait nicht vnderstehen / sonder werden sich beherrschen / regieren / vnd bewältigen lassen inn der gedult vnd lieb biß zum ende der welt. Bleiben wir nur Diener / als vnser Maister vnd Christ / der nicht kommen ist / das man jm dienen soll / noch er in der welt leiblicher weiß regieren wöll / sonder er hat gedient / vnd sich regiern vnd bewältigen lassen. Dörffen nicht sorgen vmb Obrigkait / wir finden herrischer genůg / lügen wir nur das wir Christen bleiben / gedulden / vñ den syg deß Lambs behalten / zů dem preiß vnsers vaters vnd Christs / dem allain alle herrligkait / gewalt vnnd maicstet / preiß vnd ehre gehört / von yetzund nun an vntz inn ewigkait / Amen.

Mich nimpt wunder / das Christus vnd die Apostel / sonderlich Sant Peter / da er Actorum am andern capitel so vil zů Christo bekeret / vnnd glaubig wurden / das er nicht ainen Obrern vnder jnen erwölet hat / der vnter jnen herrischet hett? Es ist aber der gaist Gottes disen Propheten dazumaln nicht weiß genůg gewesen / darumb sy billich die newen Euangelischen genendt werden / der Herr erbarm sich jr. Warumb hat Gott dem Leuitischen geschlechte kainen tail deß Erdtrichs im gelobten land / noch leibliche herrschung befolhen / noch zů gelassen? Deuter. 18. Josu. 14. Wie vil weniger den gaistlichen vnd Künigklichen Priestern Christi / von ewigkait here / nach der ordenung Melchisedech / darunder alles flaisch / vnd desselbigen regiment zů nicht muß werden. Welche figürliche bedeütung / nämlich vnser Priesterthumb in Christo bezeügt / vnd auff vns beschriben ist / wie Paulus redet / zum Hebreern

am 7.8.9. vnd 10. auch Christus selbst/Luce 9. Des menschen Sun hat kain statt/da er sein haupt hin leg.

Das erst Concili auß dem hailigen Gaist / durch die Apostel benestiget / vnd zů den Antiochern vnd andern gemainden geschriben / gesandt durch Judam vnd Sylam / die auch mit worten solchs verkündet haben. Welches dem hailigen gaist/vnd den Aposteln gefallen hat/des gesatz beschwerden nimmer auffzulegen / dann nur dise nöttigsten stuck/sich zů enthalten vor dem Götzen opffer/vom blůt/ vom erstickten/ vnd von Hůrerey / so man sich enthalt / so thů man recht &c. Acto. 15. Diser text / so er bloß nach dem büchstaben verstanden soll werden/vnd nicht ain sonderliche gehaimnuß darunder verborgen were (biß auff heůt verborgen blůben) so wer es mehr Jüdisch satzung weder freyhait. Es redt aber der gaist Gottes durch die Apostel von der zůkünfftigen zeyt die erscheinen wirdt / vnd yetzt geoffenbart / das nämlich des Bapsts vnd Antichristisch Götzen opffer / Abgöttischer / vnd grewlicher vor dem angesichs Gottes ist/weder aller Haiden götzen opffer/dann Paulus sagt ye/1. Corinth. 10. So man jm nicht saget von Götzen opffer/wolt ers essen/so man jm aber sagt/ es wäre Götzen opffer/wolt ers nit essen. So ist des Bapsts Götzenwerck nicht allain Götzen opffer / sonder der Abgott selbs/so von dem Antichrist/vnd den seinigen yetzt genöttigt ist zůessen. Darumbs der gaist Gottes nicht vnbillich für ain nöttig stuck anzeücht/sich darvor zůhůtten.

Zum andern/vor dem blůt vnd erstickrem/hat nämlich der hailig gaist / nach verbott deß gsatz Moisi solliches nicht gemaint/sonder wie der Psalmist am 16. redt/Ich will dir vom blůt trancksopffer nicht opfferen. Vnd auch auff die letste zeit erst eröffent / so bald der leiblich gewalt/ wie vor angezaigt/ sich in das reich Christi vermischet hat/ ist das blůt essen vnder den vermainten Christen / durch das blůtvergiessen der menschen angangen / welchs vns billich yetz als den kindern Gottes der hailig gaist verbeůt/vnd vns vor dem erstickten zůhůten vermant/ auß welchem alles blůtvergiessen kompt. Das ist die aigennützigkait/ reichthumb vnd herligkait diser welt. Welchs erstickt auch der Herr Christus Matthei am 13. meldet / Wa der sam vnder die dörner felle / vergehet er on frucht vnd erstickt. Welchs erstickt wort mit dem Antichristischen reich gar besessen ist/vnd gar nahe alle menschen davon essen/wider die trew warnung des hailigen gaistes/Got bewar die seinigen.

Zum dritten/ vor Hůrerey / welchs nicht allain die leiplich Hůrerey/so der gaistlichen Hůrerey frucht ist/sonder mit welcher Hůren Apocalip. 17. vnd 18. alle Künig der erden/ vnd alle menschen mit sampt jnen gehůret haben/ vnd noch Hůren/wie offenbar ist. Das ist notwendig/vor dem allen vns als die kinder Gottes fleissig fürzusehen/vnnd zů hütten. So wirs thůn/so thůn wir recht/vnd gehabt euch wol durch den trost des Gaystes/

Amen.

MENNONITE INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

HAROLD S. BENDER

Europe

The development of sectors of the Anabaptist movement in distinct linguistic and geographical areas (Switzerland, South Germany, Netherlands, Moravia, Vistula Delta) and the emergence of the Hutterite brotherhood in Moravia as a variant communistic type had resulted in a lack of close relations between the distinct Anabaptist groups by the middle of the sixteenth century The tensions became serious between the Hutterites and the Swiss Brethren, as well as between the Dutch-Northwest German followers of Menno and the High Germans (and Swiss Brethren). As a consequence brotherly relations were completely severed in both cases, and in the latter case Menno Simons excommunicated the entire opposite party. Close relations, however, were maintained between the Dutch Mennonites and those of the Vistula Delta. A relatively harmonious relationship was also achieved among all the South German and Swiss Anabaptists, of which the general Anabaptist conferences of 1555, 1557, and 1568 at Strasbourg are a testimony. For a time there were two distinct bodies of Anabaptists in the South, viz., the Swiss Brethren (more in Switzerland), and the followers of Pilgram Marpeck. As the recent doctoral dissertation, *Pilgram Marpeck, sein Kreis und seine Theologie* (University of Zürich, 1955), by Jan J. Kiwiet has shown, it was Marpeck who, after strenuous endeavor (1540-54), succeeded in bringing the two groups together in 1555. Kiwiet even holds that the remnants of the Melchiorites in South Germany were included in this union.

The history of the tragic divisions in Dutch Mennonitism, beginning in 1566, which were not fully overcome in the Netherlands until the forming of the Algemene Doopsgezinde Societeit in 1811, will not be related here, although these divisions also penetrated all the Anabaptist-Mennonite communities in North Germany from Emden to Königsberg, and even had significant consequences in the earlier stages of Mennonite history in Russia. The attitudes of certain of these schismatic parties were often very harsh toward the other groups, including general excommunication and the requirement of rebaptism for transfer of members. This was particularly true of the Flemish versus the Frisians. The Frisians, and particularly the third major group, the Waterlanders (who were not transplanted outside the Netherlands), were milder in their attitudes.

The Hutterites went their own way completely until the early nineteenth century, when they settled in the Ukraine near the Molotschna Mennonite settlement and were aided by Johann Cornies. There was some friendly correspondence in the eighteenth century between them and the Dutch Mennonites. No close relations resulted from their settlement in 1874-77 near the Mennonite settlements in South Dakota. However, a considerable number of the Hutterites in South Dakota joined the General Conference Mennonites[1] and Krimmer Mennonite Brethren,[2] no doubt in part because of the memory of Cornies' assistance.

The Swiss Brethren continued relatively isolated, the South German Anabaptists having practically died out by the time of the Thirty Years' War, 1618-48. However, the great tribulations of the mid-seventeenth century in Bern resulted in repeated intervention in their behalf by the Dutch Mennonites, and the ultimate settlement of some Swiss Mennonites in Holland, where they were finally absorbed. The Swiss Brethren settlers in the Palatinate, during the time of their suffering from the French invasions at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, received from the Dutch Mennonites substantial financial relief and aid in emigration to Holland and Pennsylvania. Considerable correspondence between Palatine Mennonite leaders and the Dutch Mennonite relief agency lies in the Amsterdam Mennonite Archives. The Dutch Mennonites were also generous in their aid to the West and East Prussian Mennonites suffering from floods or persecution in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The attempted settlement of the Lithuanian Mennonites from the Memel area in Holland in the early eighteenth century was a failure.

Apart from the above-noted relations the Mennonites of the Netherlands and the rest of Europe developed no intimate relations or co-operative effort until the nineteenth century, when the Dutch Mennonite mission in the Dutch East Indies (beginning in 1847) enjoyed considerable support from the Mennonites of Russia and Germany. The mission, representing the evangelical fraction of the Dutch, became an inter-Mennonite bond which transcended the negative effect of the rise of modernism in the Dutch church. In Germany the *Mennonitische Blätter* (founded in 1854) and the Vereinigung der Mennonitengemeinden im Deutschen Reich (a conference founded in 1886) both contributed much to bringing the various and widely scattered Mennonite communities together as well as mediating good relations with the Dutch Mennonites.

1 Hereafter indicated by the symbol G.C.M.
2 Hereafter indicated by the symbol K.M.B.

The development of the Mennonite World Conference (first meeting in Basel in 1925, then Danzig in 1930 and Amsterdam in 1936) under the leadership of the German pastor, Christian Neff, was the first extensive inter-Mennonite relationship developed in Europe. Since World War II a series of international Mennonite co-operative organizations has arisen, which have multiplied and intensified good inter-Mennonite relationships in Europe. The list includes the International Mennonite Peace Committee, founded in 1936, reorganized in 1949; European Mennonite Bible School, founded in 1949; European Mennonite Evangelizing Committee (EMEK), 1952; European Mennonite Relief Committee, 1954; Mennonite Voluntary Service (MFD), 1954; and *Der Mennonit,* 1948 (its inter-Mennonite publishing committee created in 1957). All of these organizations include representatives of all Mennonite national groups in Europe (Dutch, Swiss, French, and German), except the Bible School and *Der Mennonit,* which have no Dutch representation. The North American Mennonites are represented through the Mennonite Central Committee in all of them except EMEK. The European groups have also all been represented along with North America in the Preparatory Commission for the Mennonite World Conference (since 1957 called the General Council), and take part in its sessions. Since 1950 the MCC has been operating out of Basel, Switzerland, a Christian education materials project (CEMO) with the co-operation and later direct management of the Mennonite Publishing House of Scottdale, Pa., the latter publishing at Basel through the Agape Verlag (established in 1955) German and French materials for summer Bible schools. An Advisory Council representing four of the European national Mennonite bodies (except Holland) co-operates in the project.

The schisms which caused so much trouble and difficulty in Holland and on through to West Prussia and Russia (1566-1811) and the Amish schism (1693-97) in Switzerland, France, and South Germany, have all been overcome in Europe. The only remaining schism is that of the Mennonite Brethren and Mennonite Church in Russia (1860), which still persists in Russia. This schism caused much bitterness at the beginning, and resulted in long-continued tensions.

North America

The successive migrations from Europe to North America 1683-1860, i.e., from Switzerland, France, and Germany to Pennsylvania and further west, including Ontario, resulted in the formation of a new North American Mennonitism which unfortunately maintained

little or no connections with its European homeland. (Mennonite and Amish groups at first remained separate in the New World.) The same was true also of the successive waves of immigration from Russia to the prairie provinces and states of Canada and the United States (1874, 1922, 1930, 1947 ff.) and to South America (1930, 1947 ff.) in Paraguay, Brazil, and Uruguay. The Mennonite Brethren-[3] Mennonite schism has been perpetuated in all these settlements and lands, although there has been a varying amount of co-operation between the two groups, both in Russia and in North and South America. The Allianz-Gemeinde, founded in 1907 in the Ukraine, was a vain attempt to bridge the gap between the two major groups. In Russia (since 1910), in Paraguay (1930), and in Brazil (1930), a valuable co-operative organization was established in the form of the Commission for Church Affairs (*Kommission für kirchliche Angelegenheiten,* KfK), which represented both major groups and the Allianz-Gemeinde. In Russia, under the pressure of conditions, a general conference was formed in 1910 including both the Mennonite Brethren and Mennonite groups, which has also had a beneficent influence on inter-group relations in the new settlements in Paraguay and Brazil (1930 ff.). Here there has been considerably closer co-operation than in North America.

Most of the Mennonite immigrants from Europe to North America in the first 190 years (1683 to 1860), being of relatively homogeneous Swiss-South German background (including Alsace and Lorraine), quite naturally felt themselves as one common brotherhood, uniting in the group known as the Mennonite Church.[4] They even overcame to a large extent the Amish schism, although half of the Amish, the Old Order and the Conservative Amish, remained outside this fold. The only exceptions not entering the M.C. group were the smaller Swiss and South German groups arriving in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, which, though akin to the earlier immigrants from these areas, shared in the formation of the General Conference Mennonite Church (begun in 1860), whose first nucleus was a dissident block (1847) from the Eastern Pennsylvania area of the Mennonite Church (M.C.). The large first Russian and Prussian Mennonite immigration groups of 1874-80 in their prairie state settlements joined the General Conference Mennonites.

The formation of the "General Conference of the Mennonites of North America" in 1860 was the first attempt at a deliberate overall union of all Mennonite congregations. The vision was that of

3 Hereafter indicated by the symbol M.B.
4 Hereafter indicated by the symbol M.C.

John H. Oberholtzer, who conceived of it as co-operation of autonomous congregations working together in the fields of missions, publication, and education. The beginning was inauspicious, securing the adherence of only a few congregations at the outset, but gradually one third of all the Mennonites of North America was brought under its wing, including many of the Mennonites from Russia, most of the large Swiss settlements in Indiana and Ohio, and ultimately the Central Conference composed largely of regional Illinois Amish. By no means all of the Russian Mennonite immigrants, however, joined the General Conference, even outside the K.M.B. and M.B. groups; the Peters-Wall churches (later Evangelical Mennonite Brethren[5]) and the large Old Colony group in Manitoba remained outside. The Conference has been successful in bringing together into one working fellowship a great number of congregations of divergent origins and backgrounds.

Since the Mennonite Brethren and smaller splinter groups from Russia also continued their separate life, and the conservative "Old Colony" groups in Manitoba (1874-80 arrival) did the same, and since several new schismatic groups (Evangelical Mennonites,[6] E.M.B., Mennonite Brethren in Christ,[7] Central Conference, and the Old Order or Wisler Mennonite division of 1871 ff. in Indiana, Ohio, and Ontario) were formed in the period 1855-90, both from the older M.C. group and the G.C.M. group, the ranks of the North American Mennonites were by 1900 rather badly broken. The effects of the Oberholtzer division of 1847 in Pennsylvania, of the M.B. division of 1860 in Russia, of the M.B.C. division of 1875 in Indiana and Ontario, and of the smaller Egly (1866) and Stuckey (1871) divisions in Indiana and Illinois, had left deeper wounds than is sometimes realized, and augmented the already existing distance between the various Mennonite groups based on differences in European background and on differing emphases developed in America. Hence it was that inter-Mennonite relations in North America were negative or even polemic in the period before World War I.

However, some welcome exceptions to the general negative American status before 1914 should be noted, the chief being the co-operative inter-Mennonite effort to aid the often very needy Russian immigrants of 1874-80. The Mennonite Board of Guardians, founded in 1873 for this purpose, though not an official co-operative effort of conference bodies, was composed of representatives from the M.C. and G.C.M. groups and rallied support from almost

5 Hereafter indicated by the symbol E.M.B.
6 Hereafter indicated by the symbol E.M.
7 Hereafter indicated by the symbol M.B.C.

all areas of Mennonitism in America. To support this work Union Aid committees were formed in Eastern Pennsylvania and Ontario. J. F. Funk with his Mennonite Publishing Company (M.C.) at Elkhart, Ind., became and remained for many years the chief publisher for the Russian Mennonites in Manitoba. For over 40 years, for instance, the *Mennonitische Rundschau* was published by him and his later successors at Scottdale. The Mennonite Aid Plan, founded in 1882 at Elkhart in the M.C., soon secured a clientele among the Russian Mennonites, especially in Minnesota and South Dakota, and ultimately became chiefly their agency. The Home and Foreign Relief Commission (M.C.), founded in 1897 at Elkhart, Ind., for famine relief in India, was a quasi inter-Mennonite organization with widespread support from several Russian Mennonite groups in the prairie states, and with D. J. Jantzen, a "Russian" Mennonite, as a leading co-worker and one-year secretary. M. S. Steiner (d. 1911), the president of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities since 1907, had a vision of an inter-Mennonite mission organization, which he attempted but failed to achieve. The Congo Inland Mission (1911) was the first and only successful inter-Mennonite mission organization, with official representation at first from two conferences (E.M. and E.M.B.) and then of three, the G.C.M. group being added later.

Significant inter-Mennonite co-operation in North America did not begin until 1913, had only a slow growth between the two world wars, and came to full growth only after 1940, particularly in the remarkable development that has taken place since World War II. An attempt at drawing all Mennonites of North America closer together was made through the All-Mennonite Convention (meetings held usually triennially 1913-36), but with little permanent success. Bluffton College, enlarged in 1913 from "Central Mennonite College," together with its Mennonite Seminary, later (1921) called Witmarsum Theological Seminary, carried for a time the inter-Mennonite idea, having a board unofficially representing three Mennonite bodies (G.C.M., E.M., and Central Conference), and hoping to unite all branches of Mennonites in a common educational effort. This vision also did not come to fruition and Bluffton finally became a straight G.C.M. school, while Witmarsum was discontinued in 1931. One other joint institution, the Mennonite Old People's Home at Meadows, Ill., was established in this period (1923) by the Central and Defenseless (E.M.) conferences.

The major event in inter-Mennonite co-operation in the period between the wars was the founding of the Mennonite Central Com-

mittee in July, 1920, as the official agency of six Mennonite bodies for famine relief in Russia. Fortunately it was not disbanded upon the completion of this work in 1925, but only remained moribund, to begin its real career with the colonization of Russian refugees in Paraguay in 1930. Almost simultaneously the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization was organized (1922, preceded by Canadian Central Committee in October, 1920), representing most Mennonite groups in Canada, to aid in the great immigration of Russian Mennonites. Both the MCC and CMBC have continued to be vital service organizations on an inter-Mennonite basis, though with different fields of work, and have furnished the background and the stimulus for many subsequent inter-Mennonite activities and organizations. The Mennonite Colonization Board, organized about the same time (1924) in Kansas on an inter-Mennonite basis, accomplished little and finally was absorbed by the MCC in 1947.

The experience of co-operation in the extensive and long-continued MCC program of service to the new Mennonite settlements in South America, in which all the North American Mennonites have joined, has had an important and wholesome influence on inter-Mennonite relations, within both North and South America.

World War II gave the greatest impetus to inter-Mennonite co-operation through the joint effort of all major Mennonite bodies to define a common peace position in the United States and to administer Civilian Public Service. The Mennonite Central Peace Committee, organized in March 1939 as the official agency of seven Mennonite bodies to work in this field, turned over its work to the MCC and its Peace Section in January 1942. The Peace Section has continued as a vital inter-Mennonite organization in this field. The good success of the MCC in its relief, colonization, and peace work, gradually led all Mennonite bodies in the United States and Canada, except the most isolated smaller ones, to support its work and to join its membership, so that it has become the one truly all-Mennonite inter-Mennonite organization. As such it has continued to enjoy immense prestige and good will.

The scope of MCC activities was gradually increased to include the following: Voluntary Service in 1946, though to a somewhat limited extent; Menno Travel Service in 1947; Mental Health Service in 1947, now administering three mental hospitals; European Farm Trainee Program in 1950; I-W Services in 1952; co-ordination of Mennonite Disaster Service in 1955; Ailsa Craig (Ont.) Boys' Farm in 1955; Mennonite Indemnity, Inc., in 1957, which is a reinsurance company to serve over 60 Mennonite mutual aid societies;

and the joint delegation to Russia in 1956. All these MCC activities serve on an inter-Mennonite basis, either through representation from various Mennonite bodies or by service to them. The MCC was also the carrier of the Mennonite World Conference in 1948 and represented the North American groups in the planning of the World Conference for 1952. In this function it has now been replaced by the North American Committee of Reference and Counsel for the Mennonite World Conference, which represents seven Mennonite bodies.

A series of inter-Mennonite agencies in the field of relief and nonresistance was also set up in Canada, all now affiliated with the MCC. They are the Nonresistant Relief Organization organized in November 1917 in Ontario, the Conference of Historic Peace Churches organized in July 1940 in Ontario, the Mennonite Central Relief Committee, in Western Canada in March 1940, and the Canadian Mennonite Relief Committee, December 1940 in Manitoba.

In the United States a significant number of new inter-Mennonite organizations have been set up since World War II. They include the Association of Mennonite and Affiliated Colleges, established in 1944; the Mennonite Research Fellowship, 1946; the Mennonite Encyclopedia, published by a joint publishing committee of the three major Mennonite publication boards set up in 1947; the Association of Mennonite Hospitals and Homes organized in 1951; the Association of Mennonite Aid Societies organized in 1955; and the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries set up in 1956. The last is a grouping of Biblical seminaries with its center at Elkhart, Ind., at present including the Mennonite Biblical Seminary (G.C.M.) and the Goshen College Biblical Seminary (M.C.) at Goshen, with hoped for adhesions of certain other groups later. In 1956 the Mennonite Publishing House (M.C.) and the Mennonite Publication Office (G.C.M.) began the joint preparation and publication of a graded Sunday-school lesson series. The *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (founded in 1927) and *Mennonite Life* (founded in 1946) have from the beginning had inter-Mennonite editorial boards, though published by single agencies. The *Mennonite Weekly Review,* reaching as it does a large readership in all branches and having an all-Mennonite news coverage, has been a wholesome influence. The latest inter-Mennonite project is the Inter-Mennonite Ministerial Study Committee, which in turn has been sponsored by the North American Committee of Reference and Counsel for the Mennonite World Conference, and which is composed of representatives of five North American Mennonite conferences.

Local inter-Mennonite meetings of various kinds have been held in several Mennonite communities, such as the Mennonite Teachers Association (Kansas), Sunday-school conferences, ministerial meetings, and conferences of former CPS men. Disaster Service agencies have been set up on an inter-Mennonite basis across the United States and in Canada in 1954-57, and in more than one case inter-Mennonite groups have co-operated in actual disaster work. In the area of Kitchener and Waterloo, Ont., an inter-Mennonite ministerial meeting has been held annually since 1950, and in another area (central Illinois) such a meeting was begun in 1956. In Chicago for some years an inter-Mennonite meeting of city missions has been held annually since 1940. In New York, Chicago, Toronto, Philadelphia, and Iowa City, inter-Mennonite student group meetings have been held occasionally, and in Philadelphia the Mennonite Student Center has been established (1953), open to all Mennonites though operated by one group alone.

The Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems met annually from 1942 to 1947, since then biennially, sponsored by the Association of Mennonite Colleges. Since 1947 this association has also sponsored annual summer tours of Mennonite students and alumni to Europe. It also sponsors the Inter-Collegiate Mennonite Peace Society, which has been active since 1950.

A considerable number of educational institutions were established on an inter-Mennonite basis from 1886 on, sometimes with only two groups co-operating officially, sometimes without official group cooperation but on the basis of a private board of control with unofficial representatives from two or more groups. Among these have been Mountain Lake (Minn.) Bible School, founded in 1886; Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna, Man., 1890; Freeman Junior College, Freeman, S.D., 1903; Immanuel Bible School (now Academy) at Reedley, Cal., 1927; Lustre Bible School at Frazer, Mont., 1928; Elim Bible School at Altona, Man., 1928; Steinbach Bible School at Steinbach, Man., 1936; Bethany Bible School (now Academy) at Munich, N.D., 1938; and Grace Bible Institute at Omaha, Neb., 1943.

A number of Mennonite hospitals have also been established on an inter-Mennonite basis, chiefly in Manitoba, such as Concordia at Winnipeg in 1930, Bethania at Altona in 1936, Bethel at Winkler in 1935, and Bethesda at Steinbach in 1937.

The remarkable growth of inter-Mennonite activities since 1940 reflects a growing mutual understanding and enlarging good will among Mennonites of the several distinct denominational bodies.

Recently mergers of several Mennonite groups have taken place, or are in process: G.C.M. and Central Conference in 1945; E.M. and E.M.B. in 1953 (not fully merged as yet); K.M.B. and M.B. in 1957. Earlier the M.C. and Amish Mennonite district conferences had merged in successive stages 1916-25, and in 1956 the Conservative Mennonites had to all intents and purposes merged with the M.C. body.

One related group, the Brethren in Christ, originally branching off from Lancaster County (Pa.) Mennonites in 1770 but with little or no connection to Mennonites since then, has drawn very close to the Mennonite denominational family through its membership in the MCC, in the Council of Mennonite and Affiliated Colleges, and in the Mennonite World Conference. On the other hand, the M.B.C. group (United Missionary Church) has drawn almost completely away from the Mennonite family, even dropping the name Mennonite in 1953 except in Pennsylvania.

Through numerous channels also the relations between European Mennonites and North American Mennonites have been growing closer and warmer in recent years. Chief of these channels has been the MCC relief work in Europe in 1945ff., which has directly served Mennonites in all European countries, and brought some 300 workers from America to Europe, often in direct contact with European Mennonites in various local areas. These workers and MCC executive committee members have often attended Mennonite congregational and conference meetings in Europe, as well as numrous special meetings designed to provide for fellowship between European and American Mennonites. MCC area directors have been charged with liaison responsibilities, and in 1950 a direct Liaison Committee was established in Germany composed of representatives of the MCC and the three German Mennonite conferences. The Student Exchange Program sponsored by the Association of Mennonite Colleges has brought over 100 European Mennonite students to American Mennonite colleges since 1946, and the MCC Exchange Trainee Program likewise has brought over 150 young European Mennonites to America. The Mennonite World Conference in 1948 brought some 25 European delegates to America, many of whom toured American and Canadian Mennonite congregations afterwards. And the two world conferences in Europe since then, at Basel (1952) and Karlsruhe (1957), have brought over 500 different American Mennonites to Europe, in contrast to the three world conferences 1925-36, which were attended by very few American Mennonites. The MCC brought Elder Samuel Gerber from Switzerland for

a tour of North American churches in 1951. Ernst Crous of Gottingen, Germany, served as exchange professor at Goshen, Bethel, and Bluffton colleges in 1948-49.

Closer relations between the older European and American bodies and the young churches established in Asia, Africa, and South America by mission efforts are cultivated not only by the regular visits of mission board secretaries to the several foreign fields, but also by the MCC relief operations in some of these areas and by visits from leaders of the younger churches to the West as well as attendance by some of them in Mennonite colleges and seminaries in the United States and Canada and at the World Conference sessions. The MCC centers in Sao Paulo, Montevideo, and Asuncion in South America also contribute to closer relationships.

Closer intergroup relations among the mission workers and national churches of the several bodies on the foreign mission fields, especially in India and Japan, have been fostered through the creation of area co-operating relief committees through MCC stimulus. Such committees have been created in India (Mennonite Relief Committee for India, 1948) and Japan.

The only inter-Mennonite institution established in the areas outside of Europe and North America is the Mennonite Biblical Seminary founded in Montevideo, Uruguay, in April 1956, supported by the M.C. and G.C.M. mission boards in North America and administered by an inter-Mennonite board of directors representing Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina.

Thus inter-Mennonite relationships are growing on an intercontinental as well as an interdenominational and international basis, and give good prospect of continuing to grow closer and more fruitful.

ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS

HENDRIK BREMER*

I

"The people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations" (Num. 23:9). "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice" (Gen. 22:18). Balaam, who is called "the man whose eyes are open," sees Israel as the people that dwell alone, and this Israel is so different from all other peoples that it shall not be reckoned among the nations. For the nations concerned in the actual case, the Moabites, and the nations in possession of Canaan, this segregation of Israel has a very negative meaning. Balaam also says that Israel, which has the strength of a unicorn, "shall eat up the nations his enemies, and shall break their bones" (Num. 24:8).

But the fundamental positive relation between Israel and the nations is expressed in the promise made to Abraham after the rejection of his sacrifice of Isaac. "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice." The relation between Israel and the nations is dialectical: Israel is at once the people of the exodus and the people of reconciliation. Israel is set apart, and Israel brings blessing. And the blessing is not to be distinguished from the separation. It is precisely as the people of the separation that Israel bears the blessing.

The "one" who is set apart has a very special place in the Jewish way of thinking. Greek idealistic thinking takes the universal as its measure; Jewish thinking finds its measure in the specific. "Man as the measure of all things" refers to the universal human, to be found by the way of abstraction, and as free as possible of the influence of a specific time or a specific personality. The God of Israel is not an abstract God, but the Living God. In His One-ness He is a jealous God. This *one* God is represented by *the* People and *the* Man, the Messiah. "Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem," says Isaiah, while seeing Israel and Jerusalem as the center for the reordering of the whole world. This is universalism, as well, but it has its center not in an idea, but in the God of history represented by *a* Man and *a* People. The Jewish thinker H. von Praag says, "For the Jew the unity of all things consists by the grace of the One who is separated from them and who is the measure of all things."

* An address delivered at the Puidoux Theological Conference on the Lordship of Christ in August, 1956. Hendrik Bremer is one of the ministers of the Mennonite Church of Amsterdam, Netherlands.

All things are relative, but it can also be said that all things are in relation to the One who is the measure and who Himself escapes all relativism. The Chosen People, the Holy People, represents the Lord and it does so in the freedom of obedience. This relation is expressed in the covenant, the partnership of God and man. This covenant has its sole ground in God's call. God utters His word in the total freedom of His grace. But it is by His grace that this covenant means real partnership. God chose a partner for Himself, and calling for his love and his obedience gives him the freedom which is the condition for real love and real obedience. "You shall be holy for I the Lord your God am holy." This is at once God's gift and His call. The significance of the response to this call is expressed by God's message to Abraham. "The nations of the earth shall be blessed because thou hast obeyed my voice." The obedience of Abraham and Israel means salvation for the nations. The people set apart is not a static model. It is called to real work, to be the dynamic center of the world and in fulfilling this calling it has its real struggle, its success, and its real failure. Even when His People fail, God's promise proves everlasting. It is the real promise that the time will come when the vocation of the people *will* be fulfilled. Jerusalem, from which comes forth the law, will somehow be a center of the world. In this sense the People remains God's chosen People by His faithfulness and everlasting promise, even in its unfaithfulness. But at the same time, however, it fails utterly in its vocation of real representation, of being the saving center of the world, and this failure means that the nations and, ultimately, the whole creation wait in vain for its salvation. Then it may be said to the Chosen People, as it was to Peter: "Get thee behind me; thou art an offense to me, for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of man."

Only when Christ, the Messiah, conquers all temptation does God's One-ness find its realized representation on earth. The Son, one with the Father for all time to come, will be the Living Center of the earth.

II

Let us now consider in greater detail Israel as the segregated people, the people of the Exodus. The Exodus appears (1) negatively as rupture and judgment, and (2) positively as miraculous birth, resurrection, and emancipation. The latter is an emancipation from slavery, an emancipation directed toward the Promised Land as a goal.

Exodus means rupture—rupture with a people, with a civilization, and in deepest sense with life itself. Exodus stands for a move-

ment, which going farther and farther, spares nothing. For some people this exodus means the loss of the beloved son or one's own life. This movement is no fatalistic affair, but call and choice.

"Get thee out of thy country," said God to Abraham (Gen. 12:1); and later He said, "Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, . . . and offer him" (Gen. 22:2). In the first place, Abraham's obedience means the rupture with the civilization of Babylon. In the second place, it becomes clear that the rupture with one or several civilizations is not yet the real crisis—the whole of our existence is put on Abraham's and Job's scales. "The encounter with the angel of death" is the right name for the crisis of the Exodus.

Abraham and Isaac meet this death angel on Mount Moriah; Jacob meets him on the bank of the River Jabbok. Moses and the people of Israel meet him on the last night of Egyptian slavery. The crossing of the Red Sea must also be considered as an encounter with death. In the moment of circumcision this meeting with the angel of death is realized in a new way. This meaning of circumcision appears in the story of the "bridegroom of blood," where the Lord meets Moses and his family in the desert as a Power threatening life. "He seeks to kill him" (Ex. 4:24, 25). Zipporah then wards off the danger by circumcising her son (probably in reality her husband). God, then, asking for life, accepts *pars pro toto* the offer of the foreskin, which stands for fertility and for life itself. In later times the baptism of proselytes is another image of death; Paul, for example, speaks about baptism in connection with the passing through the Red Sea. I Cor. 10:2. The Exodus as call and choice is very radical then; beginning as a rupture with the nation, it ends as the crisis of life itself.

We may now be tempted to leave the first part of the story and to speak immediately about the fundamental and interesting crisis of life and death. We might now want to begin on a kind of Kierkegaardian psychological analysis with emphasis on the life of the individual. But doing this would be misunderstanding the meaning of the Jewish "exodus" as we see it in the cases of Abraham and of Moses.

The crisis has a political beginning, and not only then but throughout all ages the people is, as seen by Balaam, "the people that dwells alone and is not to be reckoned among the nations." In its very existence Israel is called to be the stumbling block and adversary of all nations. (One might use the Hebraic word "Satan," the "adversary" who stood in the way, of the angel who stopped Balaam and his ass.)

One might make a study of the nations who were Israel's opponents. Of special importance, then, would be the rupture with Babylon, the people of the astral religion that united the microcosm of human life and the macrocosm of the stars in one determinism. As is the case for us in our time, the People of God are always meeting concrete peoples and historic civilizations, and each of these encounters demands a special judgment. The conflict with Babylon was not the same as the conflict with Egypt or Rome. But at the same time it is possible to give a picture of the whole; Daniel sees the nations appearing as monsters, as "great beasts" judged by the Son of Man, who comes "with the clouds of heaven" (Dan. 7). The nations here below are different from each other, but they are alike in their ignorance of the relationship of all things earthly and heavenly with the "One" who is the Other, the One who is Himself unmeasurable and who is the Measure of all things.

The exodus of Abraham and Israel starts as the rupture with concrete nations, but it goes farther than this when Israel insists on the possibility of eventually finding a nation which will be Israel's true friend and ally. Or, if this is really impossible, perhaps Israel itself might be the ideal nation in a worldly sense, i.e., perhaps Israel might be, not the "one" in opposition to "two" or "three," but just the first house on a yet empty street.

From the time of the arrival in the Promised Land up to Jeremiah, every political alliance is condemned in the name of God. No worldly power may protect God's people. (This is, by the way, a most important warning for the churches of our time.) And then the radicalism of the exodus appears (after the first rupture there might be the illusion that this alone might be enough): God reveals Himself as the Angel of Death, asking for life and driving His people even from the Promised Land. God then expels His people even from Jerusalem, so that they become no more than a country (and an ordinary) town. "There is no place for you"—wherever you go you will be displaced persons.

III

Exodus means rupture and judgment. Exodus means concrete judgment. Exodus means concrete judgments, but also in a deeper sense, the final judgment. But exodus also means miraculous birth, resurrection, and emancipation.

(a) To Sarah, waxen old, the Lord says, "Sarah shall have a son" (Gen. 18:14). The birth of Isaac, and of the whole people born from Abraham, is a miraculous birth. And the theme of the miraculous birth is taken up again by Deutero-Isaiah. "Sing, O barren, thou that

didst not bear; break forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child: for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife, saith the Lord" (Isa. 54:1). "Not to be reckoned among the nations"—because Israel has another root of life. In kabbalistic literature the Jewish tree of life is pictured as growing downward with its roots in heaven; it is just the opposite of the German tree of life. Not nature, but grace—the Word of the Lord is the root of existence. The whole existence of Israel from its birth on is a miracle.

Israel is the Word. It has received its life through its birth, and as the "Born Word" it represents the Lord who speaks the Word. It is the one People representing the Lord, but at the same time and for this reason the center of the world. Others have their root of existence in the Word of creation, but they are unable to solve the riddle of birth other than through Israel and the Word of revelation. Israel is the center of the world precisely in its oneness and other-ness. Although Israel is the bearer of blessing for all nations, it not only endangers itself when it compromises the revelation, but it loses at the same time its importance to the nations by leaving them with the unsolved riddle of the Sphinx: "What is the root of life?"

(b) Isaac is the man of miraculous birth; at the same time the Epistle of the Hebrews refers to him as an example of resurrection (Heb. 11:19). Speaking about Abraham's offer of Isaac, the writer says that Abraham "received him" back "from the dead."

Again when Paul links baptism with the crossing of the Red Sea and with the death and resurrection of Christ, Israel, the people who crossed the Red Sea, becomes the people of the resurrection. Both miraculous birth and resurrection stand for a life which has its roots in heaven, but resurrection is more: it means that the encounter with the Angel of Death has been sustained. More than miraculous birth, this even characterizes the deep crisis of the exodus. God asks for life, for Abraham's son, for Moses' son, and, as a matter of fact, for Abraham and Moses themselves. But He asks with the words of peace, "Whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it" (Matt. 16:25).

God demands life, but not as Moloch demands it. He asks for the living son and the living people and not for the dead. And where man in the movement of the exodus must part at last from his own life, then in the act of grace God gives new life, and then, as in all the accounts from Genesis, the faithful may discover that the Angel of Death is indeed the Lord. The Lord passes over the houses of the Jews in Egypt, and in the stories of Abraham's offer and the "bride-

groom of blood" the Lord accepts the sacrifice of the ram and the foreskin; and after the struggle on the Jabbok the Lord blesses Jacob.

"Thou shalt not die" (II Sam. 12:13) is the Word of grace of Nathan to David and this marks the renewal of life by grace for the man and the people. "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell . . . . Thou wilt shew me the path of life" is the response of David (Psalm 16). Faith and grace are always joined in these passages.

Abraham's faith, Jacob's fighting spirit, and David's belief in the power of grace all mark the human side, but life is given as a real gift of God both to the faithful obedient Abraham and to David, the repentant siner. The life of grace and resurrection is a life on earth. It is the life, born from above, which finds a new possibility of existence, not in its own merit or power, but in the creating and redeeming Word of God, "You shall be holy *for* I your God am holy."

(c) This new life may be characterized as emancipation. "I am the Lord thy God who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage (Ex. 20:2). This is the starting point of the new life. The segregated people becomes par excellence the emancipated people. (This thesis is perhaps of importance for South Africa.) This emancipation again has in the first place a concrete political sense, freedom from the bondage of Egypt, and precisely in this concreteness it may still be applicable today. "God wants no slavery" is a concrete message for all slaves and for all who are called to be God's witnesses in our time.

But just as the exodus continues as a movement with only the sacrifice of life itself as a limit, the emancipation, too, is a countermovement of life in its relationship with God. These two movements are one. Emancipation is seen in its total vastness by Paul in his theology of Christian liberty. "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory" (I Cor. 15:54)? "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? . . . For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God . . ." (Rom. 8:35-39). Emancipation here means freedom from determinism; this was already implied in the exodus from Babylon with its belief in the principalities of heaven and their counterparts, the tyrannies on earth.

The task of being a free people and, in this way, of bringing salvation for the nations who found themselves bound in various forms of slavery was the first task of Israel. The Christian of our day also has emancipation as his first task; it is not only a subject he must think about, but, more important, a goal to be realized. It is precise-

ly such problems as those of war and force which must be seen in the light of the emancipation offered by the grace of God. Perhaps these are the most important questions for Christians of our time. Where we see Christians capitulating to a fate which threatens the whole world, we are called to believe that God will teach us His way of life.

Egyptian bondage is the starting point for the emancipation of Israel; the Promised Land is its goal. Israel's freedom has a focus from the beginning; viz., God's own country, Canaan, the peaceful Jerusalem. But when the double movement of exodus and emancipation proceeds, the order of Jerusalem changes to the tension of eschatology. The Jerusalem of peace can indeed no longer be reckoned among the nations of this world. But at the same time it maintains its relation with history; Israel is God's promise for the world, and the goal of emancipated life.

For Israel, the actual emancipation, both in its starting point and in its goal, was almost as impossible a thing as the new Jerusalem. But God says, "I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and large." Then follow the names of all the nations living there, suggesting how overflowing with riches and full of people that land is. And the whole path of emancipation, from Egypt to Canaan, is indeed the work of God, a realizing of the impossible.

But at the same time the people itself has to realize its freedom; without genuine faith and obedience their freedom is postponed. When, after a short march, the people stand at the frontier of Canaan and, after the statement of the spies, there is no belief in the possibility of winning the Land, the fulfillment of God's promise is postponed for forty years. Only a new and more faithful generation will gain entrance to the Land. Even then the history of the walls of Jericho makes it clear that it is indeed God who makes possible the impossible. When emancipation is not received in the right way slavery begins again. A most suggestive example of this is the slavery of Samson who was "eyeless in Gaza in the mill with slaves." The eyeless one, turning the wheel in an eternal circle, is just the opposite of the forward-directed movement of the God-inspired life. The circle is the way of the principalities of evil.

It is the line with its starting point and its goal, the line going from God's Garden toward God's City, which represents the real emancipated history of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The end of the path is visualized as Jerusalem, the city which has its opposite in another, Babylon. Jerusalem is the city of freedom, where people come to learn the ways of God: "For out of Zion shall go forth

the law." Babylon is the city of slavery; it finds its realization in the city founded by Cain, in the actual Babylon, in Rome. As the devil may ape God, so Babylonian law and order apes, in a way, the order of Jerusalem. We may say that at the beginning Eden, God's Garden, stands for ordered nature. But in the end God's City stands for the ordering of human society.

Already in the Garden Adam has the task of being God's gardener; paradise does not stand for a romantic wilderness, but for the established order of cultivation. The establishment of law becomes man's function in a world which has Jerusalem as its center. From the beginning "Law" and "Promised Land" are connected in the vision of Israel. God gives His Law in the wilderness on the way to Canaan, and it is by the grace of Law that life in the wilderness finds its sense of direction. "I will walk at liberty: for I seek thy precepts" (Psalm 119:45). Emancipated life finds its possibilities in the Law of God. God's Law is a lamp and a light on the path of the People of God. "I have longed for thy salvation, O Lord; and thy law is my delight" (Psalm 119:174). Salvation and law are one. Here we find this positive view on law which helps us understand why Jerusalem becomes the salvation-bearing center of the world. The knowledge of good and evil, which is a result of the working of the Law, is itself a result of the knowledge of sin. But on the other side it presupposes the possibility of listening to the Word of God. In the world between Eden and Jerusalem God's Law shows the way, but it stands, too, for the wonder of the saved world, the world centered around Jerusalem.

Law itself is grace. Only where this is forgotten and law becomes external commandment without internal grace is there the new form of slavery of which Paul speaks so much. God's Law as known by Psalm 119 not only shows the way, but is given together with the power to follow the way.

When the nations come to Jerusalem, internal Jewish law becomes external law, and at the same time internal salvation, the salvation of the Chosen People, becomes external salvation. The many called are saved in their relation to the chosen few. In their relation with the "one," the many find their own relation to each other. Law is salvation because it is a guide on the way. It is concrete in that it sets man on his way in the right relation with God and with his neighbor. When internal law becomes external law, the result is not only that the nations learn the way of Israel, but also that in their relation to Israel, they become the "neighbor" and that those laws which at first have their value only within the people are now also of value in the relation with the other nation. "Thou shalt not kill" then is to

apply not only to the neighbor within, but also to the outsider.

When, in addition, the Law becomes extended as in Leviticus 19, the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount becomes indeed the immediate consequence of the Law. "Thou shalt not kill" becomes "Thou shalt not stand forth against the life of thy neighbor," "thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart," and finally, "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Lev. 19:16-18). Where this becomes external law, Zion is indeed the center of the world where the people find law, peace, and salvation, in the sense of emancipation from the forces and principalities.

God's Jerusalem is the center of reordering of the world. It is the city of law, but also of freedom and of peace. Unlike the city of Babylon, which is a fortress, Jerusalem's gates are always open.

In the New Testament, Jerusalem is the city of the Lamb where all the nations come together for the adoration of the Lamb. In the "Lamb" and in the "Suffering Servant of the Lord" of Deutero-Isaiah, the movement of the exodus reaches its utmost point; with respect to God's city, they also mark the utmost point of emancipation. Here, the sacrifice of life is realized in pure freedom and, through identification of the "One" as His chosen One, the latter becomes the true Revelation of Him. When the "Lamb" and the "Suffering Servant" are realized in Christ, He is the true Son of God and true Son of David, the Messiah and the true Son of Man, and the second Adam in whom the call of man to holiness finds its fulfillment.

Israel's task is to show the nations the possibility of an existence which has its roots in heaven and which expresses itself by the life of sacrifice. In the history of Israel this movement of exodus is only gradually realized. True, the whole movement does appear in the history of Isaac, and the direction of the way which finds its fulfillment in the city of the Lamb is revealed. But in the story of this way the call to the real Canaan as the Promised Land has its place. In this phase the bloodshed and the relation to the enemy are not felt as problems; but at the same time the whole strategy of war already appears quite irrelevant, and when the people trust in it it is a real hindrance. God sometimes acts using His own means, as in the case of the liberation of Egypt, or the crossing of the Red Sea, the falling of the walls of Jericho, and in a later time the defeat of Sennacherib. In many other cases God works by means of His chosen human partners. But when He works with man, man's faith and not his strength is of importance. The small band of Gideon, the young Saul, and David are His true allies. The older Saul who thinks in human strategy becomes quite powerless. In the Epistle to the Hebrews,

Gideon and the other heroes of resistance are named together with the nonresisting martyrs as witnesses of the coming Christ. Yet their faith and not nonresistance is the touchstone. Even in the bloodiest parts of the Old Testament there seems to be just around the corner the feeling that human force is quite irrelevant, and sometimes, as in the story of David who is not allowed to build the temple, there appears the awareness that bloodshed is incongruent with God's way.

The story of Israel becomes increasingly a struggle to understand what is the real meaning of "holiness," what it means to be "the people that dwells alone." And what shall be its true relation to the other peoples, the "nations," when Israel identifies its being with the sonship of Abraham, its blood; or with Canaan, its soil; or even with the Temple or the Law as objective entities? Then Israel meets again the Angel of Death of earlier days, and it is called to a new exodus, this time even from its own home and its own treasured heritage. Jeremiah accepts the new slavery in Egypt as a way of God. Ezekiel sees God's judgment beginning at the Temple—not on the outskirts of the world, but in the very center of the holy Temple. Isaiah and even Elijah speak about the "remnant," the community of the faithful in distinction from the people. Finally Deutero-Isaiah gives the picture of the Suffering Servant in whose life the people fulfills its vocation. In the fulfillment there no longer will be a people nor a remnant, but one Man is the Holy One bringing salvation to the people and to the nations. He is the bearer of the Messianic Covenant, in which the two, Israel and the nations, come together.

The movement of the exodus toward sacrifice finds its reflection in a very special way in the expulsion of Satan from heaven, an event which at the same time marks a final stage of emancipation. At first the work of Satan seems to be an aspect of God's own work. In the story of Micaiah, the son of Imlah (I Kings 22:22), God sends a lying spirit to Ahab. In Job, too, Satan is God's servant, but at the same time His opponent; here already he stands at the edge of heaven. Then in Zech. 3:5 Satan, again in heaven, is clearly seen as God's opponent claiming the soul of Joshua, the high priest, but he is rejected. The angel of the Lord pleading grace and Satan asking formal right seem a projection of two elements in God Himself—just as Job has a notion of an ambiguity in God when he speaks his charges against God but also declares, "My witness is in heaven" (Job 16:19).

But in the vision of Zechariah there is no longer place in heaven for Satan. The mention of Satan in I Chron. 21:1 is remarkable: "And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel." Satan gave David a very bad idea indeed, a suggestion to do

something that was later revenged by a plague for the whole of Israel. But the same story is reported in II Sam. 24: "And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah." Here Yahweh Himself does the deed. But in the New Testament John testifies: "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all" (I John 1:5). And Jesus' statement that He saw Satan falling like lightning from heaven is most remarkable.

This rigorism manifesting itself in the Old Testament and dominating the New Testament has been criticized by Mohammedans as well as by some Jews—and also by some modern psychiatrists who, in the name of realism, find various ways to accept evil. As a reason for doing this they would argue, for example, that "evil may serve the good." They see, not only the dialectical elements as we see them in the relation of Israel with the world, of exodus and reconciliation, but also other Marxian and Freudian dialectics of good and evil.

What I have characterized as the double movement of exodus and emancipation, finding its summit in the vision of the Lamb, quite legitimately brings with it the expulsion of Satan, the understanding of God as light "in whom there is no darkness," and, on the human level, the renunciation of all of Satan's arsenal, all of his ways. The old formulae of renunciation at baptism are not historical curiosities at all; they are most important for people who have to learn that Satan is not to be expelled by Beelzebub. The abjuration of Satan is the present stage of emancipation in the Christian life; it is a consistent part of the path Israel follows when it has left Canaan and is marching toward the city of the Lamb. The entrance to this city is only to be won by sacrifice. Here end and means are one.

Ezekiel's chapter 47 gives a most beautiful vision of the relation of Israel with the world. It is after the destruction of the Temple, when God's judgment has robbed His people of its last support on earth. In the new slavery it seems that the days of Egypt have returned. And then Ezekiel sees the vision of the new Temple. "And behold waters issued from under the threshold of the house." The water becomes a brook, and then a deep river, breaking through the mountains toward the Dead Sea, rushing over the plains of the old doomed cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. "Everything that liveth, which moveth, whithersoever the rivers shall come, shall live." The temple is a center of a life for the whole world, especially for the doomed cities.

Here again we hear the voice of Him who promised Abraham: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." Exodus finds meaning and response in reconciliation.

MENNONITES, MORAVIANS AND SALVATION IN COLONIAL AMERICA

DIETMAR ROTHERMUND*

In 1741, when the Moravian Church founded its American headquarters in Bethlehem, Pa., the Mennonite settlers had already been in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country for many years. The Mennonite farmer and his preacher still lived in the tradition of the 16th century at that time. Persecution, isolation, and group migration had helped to keep the Mennonite reformer of old away from more recent trends of Christian thinking. The attention that had been once focused on baptism after professed faith and protest against state religion was now, at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century, centered on group discipline and keeping of the traditions. Dissatisfaction with this approach to religious experience could arise, and the preacher of a "heart-religion" found access to Mennonites. As in the Second Awakening around 1800 the Methodists visited the Mennonite communities, so in the time of the Great Awakening the Moravian itinerants appeared among them.

The Moravians embodied the most advanced form of Pietism at that time. Their stress on salvation through atonement gave a great fervor to their preaching, which impressed the Mennonites deeply, who stated this in discussion with a Moravian itinerant. The itinerant then recorded in his diary:[1]

> February 15 (1745) (near Neustadt/Warwick) . . . A man called Schreiner Paul took us to his house; his neighbor, a Mennonite, who had long since desired to speak to Brother L[ischy], came with his wife also to this place, and thus he [Lischy] talked to them in sincere love, and he told them about the Community [Bethlehem and the Unitas Fratrum[2]] and afterwards he held a singing hour which he closed with a short speech and a prayer. The people were very pleased and they said they wished they could have an hour like this every evening. The wife of the Mennonite desired especially to speak to L[ischy], but as he refused she told him secretly that she had heard him preach several times and that she felt something special in her heart at those times the Mennonites had forbidden her to go to hear him but she had asked the Mennonite preacher to permit her to go, as she would like to remain a Mennonite but would also like to hear Lischy. He had permitted her to do so. She said also she

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1 Translated from the German manuscript: "Lischy's und Rauch's Relation von ihrer Visitationsreise und Predigten in den Reformierten Gemeinden in Pennsylvanien, 1745," Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa., Letterbox K—M under Lischy.

2 "Gemeine" (Community) in Moravian records refers either to the whole Moravian Church (Unitas Fratrum), e.g., "Community of the Lamb," etc., or, in a more specific sense, to the Bethlehem (Pa.) congregation.

did not know how it happened that their preachers preached in such a dry way that it did not move her at all, but in the doctrine of Jesus she felt sap and power. It went right to her heart. She also asked him to visit her sometimes. Her husband made known that he too felt stirred; he had not heard anything like that [Lischy's preaching] in his life. . . .

Some months later Jacob Lischy records in his diary:

(April 1745)— . . . On my way I visited a Mennonite preacher who had invited me for a visit several times. He was very glad and he talked very frankly to me. We could love each other. He said that he did not consider his congregation in any other way than as a net in which good and bad people are together. He believes that all religions have children of God among them, whom he loves and honors. He would be in unanimity with the doctrine of Jesus' Wounds and Death, although he had it not yet in his heart, but he asks the Lord for it. . . .
At noon I arrived at Erlentown [Allentown].

Another entry in the same diary says:

. . . Soon afterward came a Mennonite, Peter Haller, who had also been with us, but had recently become confused in a gathering because I did not want to scold . . . a man who had got drunk, and because I even said that I loved this man more now than before. This Peter confessed to me that he had sinned in judging this man; God had punished him for doing so. Yesterday he had to do even worse, he had to get drunk and moreover he got into a fight so that he had been like a devil. Now he could see what kind of man he was and his holiness had fallen into the dirt. I wished him good luck with it and thanked the Savior.

These notes, stemming from the first contacts between Moravian itinerants and Mennonites, reveal the whole essence of the difference between the pietistic approach of the Moravian and the traditional teachings of the Mennonite preacher of the day. The Moravian seeks justification by faith alone and stresses the vanity of self-righteousness; he sometimes goes out of his way to spurn the law-abiding attitude toward religion and shocks the conventional Christian with seemingly paradoxical statements. But these quotations also reveal that in the early time between 1741 and 1748 the Moravian minister was not especially keen to involve Mennonites in discussions about their faith and the practice of their ministers. As the ecumenicity of the Moravians had already been interpreted as proselytizing in disguise, the itinerants went out of their way not to disturb organized communities. Furthermore they considered it the chief task of the day to care for the many unchurched Lutherans and Reformed, who had come to America not as persecuted religious units, but chiefly

for political and economic reasons, and having been members of a state church were not accustomed to unsupervised religious activity.

The character of the information that can be obtained from the rich sources of the Moravians at Bethlehem therefore varies with their difference in time and the change of church policy. The earliest information is printed in the Records of the Pennsylvania ecumenical synods which were held on Zinzendorf's initiative and mostly under his leadership in 1740-42.[3] Naturally this information deals only with Mennonite leaders who were invited to these "staff meetings." The leaders, being guardians of denominational consciousness, of course, did more to prevent than to promote Zinzendorf's far-flung ideas of a unity of the Protestants and ecumenical co-operation in the New World. Whether these leaders really represented the feelings of the rank and file Mennonite members is doubtful, as the second type of information, the occasional reports of the Moravian itinerant in his diaries between 1742 and 1748, reveals in some Mennonites a certain dissatisfaction with the leaders and an open mind toward a new approach.

The third type of information, the special report on Mennonites, comes in after 1748. This year marks a turning point in Moravian church policy. The synod of that year, after discussing the international work of the church and the methods of ordination, devised a new strategy for the missions in America. Bishop Spangenberg, the great organizer, concentrated the missionary efforts, ready to stop all fruitless attempts and to use his team of itinerants in the most effective way. To have enough information on which to base these decisions regarding missionary assignments, the synods ordered specific reports on different parts of the country and on different denominations. Spangenberg himself visited Virginia, John Wade the Quakers, others went to New England, New Jersey, etc. The Rev. Bernhard Grube was sent to the Mennonites. But before he started out another minister, Georg Hantsch, had already visited some Mennonites and reported (in a letter to Bishop Cammerhoff, July 7, 1748):

> . . . From time to time I went alone, since Br. Schnel [Leonard Schnell] did not have time to go with me. But because of the harvest, as the people are scarcely to be met at home, we could not do too much with our visit and we did not go too far (around Warwick). I will now go on Brother Joseph's [Spangenberg] advice to Modenkrieg (Muddy Creek) and Erlichtaun [Allentown] with Br. Brandmiller, because there are many Mennonites [in this area]. . . .

3 *Relationen von den sieben Pennsylvanischen Synoden,* printed by Benjamin Franklin (Philadelphia, 1742).

P.S. May the dear Lamb bless our visit among the poor Mennonites, who do not know anything else but fighting and struggling and who consider our teachings to be dangerous, as we direct the people toward the Gospel and not to the law. We visited one of their most important preachers, V. Bre hirsch [Bens Hirschey?], who reproached us because of this, but in friendliness.

Grube, who was especially qualified to preach to the Mennonites since he had already done so in Europe,[4] sent the following report:

Short account of my visit among the Mennonites.

On the 27th of November, new style, 1748, I began at Warwick, stayed there several days and visited about 20 families, among them several nice people. From there I went to Conestoga as far as to the Susquehannah and also to the Peque, where I visited a considerable number [of Mennonites], among them very lovable people, who love us. Some of them have already heard our Brethren preach. From there I went to Tonegal and Quitopephulle [Lebanon] and Swatara and visited there as many as I could meet. On the whole the Mennonites have received me in a friendly way and have stated that my visit was welcome, and several of them asked me to visit them again. I have pointed out the bloody Lamb and His side-opening to almost all of them and have invited them to it. Many of them paid attention and many have swallowed hook and bait. Else it is rather bad with them. Their preachers have not much insight and their only preaching is of the Ten Commandments. Some of them are nice men, whom I wished to be deep in the side-opening. On the whole I got along with them pretty well and I stated that I had only come to them because I loved them and because I would like to see whether many of them were of those who loved the Lamb and His wounds. They said, yes, we should, of course, love Him but we do not do it. Thus I took the opportunity to tell them that our Lamb loved them very much and that He had a nice warm spot in His side for them; there their hearts could be blessed. Among many of them I felt rather well, and I believe that the Lamb will gather His suffering's reward out of them—Grube.

Obviously these reports led to no missionary work among the Mennonites, as Grube, who would have been the most prominent

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4 The "Gemeinnachrichten" (News of the Moravian Church) of 1757 contain an obituary of Bernhard Grube that gives the following information: Grube was accepted in Count Christian Renatus Zinzendorf's Community of 1739; he was ordained in 1740 and was sent to Amsterdam, where he became a tutor in the house of Dominie Deknatel, "a blessed evangelist," whom he accompanied on his visits to his Mennonite congregations in North Holland, Texel, and Frisia. Deknatel preached to all Mennonites. Grube continues in his Curriculum, "On such occasions I became very well acquainted with the Mennonite preachers. For this reason I was often asked to preach in their churches when I visited them, which I did at Acrum for the first time, where afterward a Brother in the Moravian church took care of the awakened souls. At the first visitation of Brother Johannes von Watteville in 1748 I got the order to make a tour among the Mennonites. After I had visited about 70 families of them I returned to Bethlehem and was again in charge of the school." See also *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* index: Bernhard Grube.

THE BOOKS OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY*

KLAUS C. WUST

People crossing the Atlantic after long and tedious journeys from the upper Rhine Valley to the coast could not carry much with them in the 18th century. Their baggage was limited to the absolute necessities. And yet the German immigrants had brought with them from Germany and Switzerland to Pennsylvania and from Pennsylvania to Virginia what they considered absolute necessities: their great heavy Bibles, their hymn books, and their prayer books. They paid the heavy import duty laid upon books by the English government at the solicitation of the King's printers and proudly placed these cherished books in their new log homes on the mountain slopes in the Shenandoah Valley.

The family Bibles brought over from Europe have survived generations. Many of them are still in the possession of the descendants. Others have found their way into the rare book collections of our libraries. The genealogical data contained in them is one of the most valuable sources of local and family history. Imprints of many European cities can be found among these Bibles. Most of them are the translation of the Scriptures by Martin Luther, but among the Dunkers the "Berleburg" Bible was quite frequent, while the "Zürich" Bible could be found in Mennonite homes.

One of the earliest settlers of the Valley, Abraham Strickler, a Swiss who located on the Massanutten tract around 1726, carried with him to Virginia the oldest of all Bibles found among the German settlers, printed by Christoffel Froschauer in Zürich, Switzerland, in 1536. This Bible is still owned by his descendants.

A survey of these books brought directly from Europe shows that they are exclusively religious works, as the only books read and owned by common people in Europe in those days were predominantly of a religious nature.

Those families who had sojourned in Pennsylvania for some time before they came to Virginia had acquired books from the famous German presses there. Christopher Saur of Germantown and the Ephrata Brethren had printed most of the literature demanded by the German farmers. Thus the earliest of German books to be found in Virginia homes came either from the old country or from Pennsylvania.

* Reprinted from "'S Pennsylvaanisch Deitsch Eck" of the *Allentown Morning Call*, January 26, 1957, by permission.

Among the European imprints apart from the numerous Bibles are the Lutheran Hymnals printed at Marburg; *Evangelia und Episteln auf alle Sonntage* (J. H. Stocks, Marburg, 1745): Gottfried Arnold's *Wahre Abbildung der ersten Christen* (C. H. Fuchs, Leipzig, 1740); and *Das verborgene Leben mit Christo in Gott* (J. Schmitz, Solingen, 1747). In 1773 Peter Brillhardt, a German farmer, owned a 738-page book, the translation of St. Macarius' *Monument of Early Christianity* by Gottfried Arnold (*Denkmal von dem Alten Christenthum,* T. Fritschen, Frankfurt, 1702). Brillhardt sold this copius book to Henrich Spitzer for six shillings. (All these books are in the collections of the Bridgewater College Library and the Rockingham County Historical Society, Harrisonburg, Va.) Of interest are two wills filed at a time when the book production in Pennsylvania had just begun and most of the volumes owned by the Germans in Virginia had been brought from across the sea.

In the inventory of Abraham Strickler's estate, filed on June 18, 1746, we find "Eight small Dutch books, a large Dutch Bible and some old books." Martin Kaufman's inventory of May 17, 1749, lists the following books: A prayerbook, an old book, an English and Latin dictionary, 3 great Bibles, 14 books with sermons, a great martyrbook, 2 Testaments, and 5 hymnbooks, a small Bible, 3 Psalm books, 10 small books, *Güldene Aepfel in Silbern Schalen,* and sundry other small books.

Martin Kaufman, who died in 1749, was a Mennonite preacher in the Massanutten settlement. In his will we find the first books printed in Pennsylvania. *Güldene Aepfel in Silbern Schalen,* a 519-page book that contained numerous testimonials, epistles, prayers, and hymns by Mennonite martyrs was printed in 1745, and the "great martyrbook," T. J. Van Braght's *Der Blutige Schauplatz oder Märtyrer-Spiegel,* had just come off the Ephrata press in 1748. This was the largest book printed in the American colonies before the Revolution. The binding of this 1484-page volume consists of heavy boards covered with home-tanned leather. Several copies were owned by families in the Shenandoah Valley.

After this time a constant flow of books came down from Pennsylvania. Most popular among the products of the German presses in Pennsylvania was the Saur Bible. The first edition came out in 1743. The demand was so great that several editions followed. Many homes in the Valley possessed Saur Bibles. Almost as important was the Saur *Almanac.* Hymnbooks were urgently needed for the many new congregations that had sprung up everywhere in the Valley. Few congregations in those days were supplied with hymnbooks as

church property. It was the custom for members who were sufficiently interested and felt they could afford them to buy their own. The *Marburger Gesangbuch,* the standard Lutheran hymnal, was printed in Pennsylvania since 1759.

Among the other books which were widely circulated in the Shenandoah Valley during the early period are the following: *Die Wandlende Seel,* a Mennonite publication with many editions in Pennsylvania, by Johann Philip Schabalie; Gerhard Roosen, *Christliches Gemüths-Gespräch* (Ephrata, 1769, 1770); *Von der Historia des Apostolischen Kampffs* (Ephrata, 1764); J. Bunyan's *Pilgrimsoder Christenreise* (Germantown, 1755); Tersteegen, *Geistliches Blumen-Gärtlein inniger Seelen* (Germantown, 1769); Joh. Habermann von Eger, *Christliches Gebaet-Buch* (Germantown, 1762).

Apart from religious books as the ones just listed only the annual almanac and occasionally newspapers were read. Some of the religious groups, principally the Dunkers and Mennonites, were opposed to worldly newspapers, although it was the Dunker Christopher Saur who had started the most successful German sheet of that time. His *Der Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber,* which was begun in 1739, was read wherever Germans had settled. In 1751 it had 4,000 subscribers and circulated not only in Pennsylvania, but also in Virginia, Georgia, and Carolina. Later on *Der Staatsbote,* published at Philadelphia, had many readers in Virginia. Heinrich Ringer at Winchester, and Jacob Nicholas at Peaked Mountain were agents for the paper in the 1770's.

Only during the later period do we find agents for Pennsylvania newspapers and books. Usually the itinerant preachers or occasional visitors brought the new products from the Pennsylvania presses. There was much traveling back and forth between Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley. Many families still had relatives and friends in the North and were in constant communication with the older settlements. Their churches were parts of northern organizations. Often members of a congregation entrusted their orders for books to one of their fellow members who would travel to Pennsylvania. Thus, we have some lists of books that were ordered by members of the Dunker Church in what is now Rockingham County.

Martin Gerber at one time ordered for his neighbors and fellow members of the Dunker Church the following books: 13 German New Testaments, 12 *Davidische Psalterspiel,* 1 *Losekästle* (a little leather box with cards on which Bible quotations were printed, also called "The Pious Lottery," printed by Christopher Saur), 9 English Hymnals, 3 *Wandlende Seel* by J. P. Schabalie.

Great must have been the longing for books during the earliest days of settlement. The Germans at Germanna in 1720 had appealed to the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" in London for spiritual aid. A committee of the Society reported that they could not send a missionary to the Germans but were of the opinion that twenty-five copies of the Common Prayer in the German language be given to them by the Society. This was agreed to by the Society. Sixty-three years later the Lutheran Pastor Adolph Nuessmann expressed another need which characterizes the progress of the German settlers in the South, particularly in Virginia. By 1783 they had developed their interest in literature, mainly of a religious nature of course; hence the need for a print shop began to arise. In a letter he deplored the fact that there was no German press between Maryland and Georgia. After the turn of the century several German print shops were established in the Valley of Virginia, notably the first German newspaper press at Winchester by Bartgis, the famous Henkel press of New Market, John Wise and Jacob Dietrick at Staunton, and Lawrence Wartmann at Harrisonburg, a tradition which was continued by the Kieffer-Ruebush Publishing Company which published the German *Philharmonia* as late as 1938 for the Old Order Mennonites.

MENNONITES AND MORAVIANS *(Continued from page 73)*

man to lead this mission, dedicated himself entirely to the Indian mission for the rest of his life. The ecumenical, all-embracing attempt of the Moravian Church to unite the German sects in Pennsylvania had already failed, and the denominational lines were drawn more sharply than before 1748. Therefore a work among the Mennonites would have been open proselyting, since the time of the tentative general evangelistic preaching was over, and the missionary aim was now the organized Community with denominational identification. The possibilities for an interchange of ideas were therefore also more and more limited, and a century and a half had to elapse before the Mennonites turned to an evangelistic approach to religion and towards a definite stressing of salvation. The process is still going on, and there are marked differences between groups of common heritage such as the Mennonites and the Amish. As a Mennonite recently remarked, speaking about the feeling of being saved finds little response among Amish. This demonstrates how much time is required for religious concepts to reach all groups of Christians.

The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision (A Sixtieth Anniversary Tribute to Harold S. Bender). Edited by Guy F. Hershberger. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1957. Pp. viii, 360. $4.50.

For any student who would keep abreast of the various facets of modern thought concerning the origin, nature, development, recovery, and implications of "the Anabaptist vision," this series of twenty-four essays by contemporary scholars in the field is a necessity. While this volume was conceived and published as a tribute to Harold S. Bender's "nearly thirty-five years of service to Anabaptist-Mennonite historiography" it is far more than a eulogy. This volume brings together, better than any other known to the reviewer, various historical and theological strands which make up the thrilling story of "the Anabaptist vision." The fact that this book could be prepared and published without Bender's knowledge and could be presented to him as a real surprise on the sixtieth anniversary of his birth is itself no small achievement.

After a historiographical introduction by the editor, Guy F. Hershberger, Professor of History and Sociology at Goshen College, the first major section of to book is devoted to "Anabaptist Research and Interpretation" including an essay by Ernst Correll on "Harold S. Bender and Anabaptist Research" and Bender's own pivotal presidential address, "The Anabaptist Vision," delivered before the American Society of Church History in December, 1943. The second major section deals with the historical rise of Anabaptism and includes treatments of the Swiss, the Dutch, and the Hutterian aspects of the movement. A third major division is labeled "The Theology of Anabaptism," including nine essays dealing with such matters as the underlying essence of the movement, the concept of the church, the vision of discipleship, the attitude toward the Bible, the relation to the state, and the expression of Anabaptism in missions, social service, and brotherhood economics and ethics. The last division is called "Anabaptism in History," with discussions tracing the impact of the movement on various aspects of culture in various countries and in various periods.

The use of so large a number of contributors becomes at once a source of strength and of weakness. It is certainly impressive to observe such a galaxy of scholars paying tribute not only to a fellow researcher but to "the Anabaptist vision" itself. The list includes young men and those who are older, Americans and Europeans, those within the Anabaptist-Mennonite fellowship and those who study the movement from the outside.

Moreover, in the compilation of contributions from so many minds there is a richness of expression and interpretation and a stimulation of thought which greatly enhances the value of this volume. The book itself is symbolically a community of the Spirit, a creative "fellowship of kindred minds" not identical in methodology, in point of view, or in conclusions, yet searching for fuller answers than those yet given.

On the other hand, this same characteristic of the volume contributes to a certain ambiguity, if not confusion, as to just what the Anabaptist vision really is and what its recovery means. Is Bender's own clear three-point definition (Christianity as discipleship, the church as a brotherhood, the ethic of nonresistant love) to be taken as normative? Or is van der Zijpp's implication that there were *various* Anabaptist visions more nearly correct? Or does Friedmann come closer to the essence of Anabaptism in his discourse on "the doctrine of the two worlds"? Or is Peachey

right when he says the "Anabaptism was probably too dynamic a movement to be reduced to a simple definition"?

While the titling and organization of the topics included follows a certain logical sequence, one also gains the impression that in some cases topics were assigned and so framed because of the personal interests and inclinations of the contributors involved rather than because the topic itself was integral and essential to the development of the major theme. Such observations, however, ought not detract from the deep appreciation which every reader should feel for this splendid volume.

Finally tribute must also be paid to the Herald Press for a splendid printing job. Mennonite publishing is coming of age.

Mennonite Biblical Seminary ERLAND WALTNER

The Jung Codex, A Newly Discovered Gnostic Papyrus: Three Studies. By H. C. Puech, G. Quispel, W. C. van Unnik. Translated and edited by F. L. Cross. London: A. R. Mowbray, 1955. pp. 136. 15 shillings.

The incredible discovery of a group of thirteen Gnostic codices at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt in 1945 has been overshadowed by the momentous manuscript finds in the vicinity of the Dead Sea. This book represents the first convenient discussion of the circumstances of the discovery (as far as they are known), the nature of the documents found, and some suggestions about the possible results this newly discovered material will have on studies of early Christianity. Provided this mass of material attains publication it will throw a flood of light upon the nature of Gnosticism, and will illuminate the history of the early church in a similar degree that the Dead Sea discoveries are illuminating its background.

This volume contains three essays, all dealing with the newly discovered Gnostic material, written by recognized authorities in the field of early Christianity. The first essay, "The Jung Codex and the Other Gnostic Documents from Nag Hammadi" by Henri Charles Puech, sets the Jung Codex into the context of the total manuscript discovery. This codex is the only one of the thirteen codices which has thus far left Egypt and it is currently in the process of publication. It is named after the eminent psychologist C. G. Jung, since the Jung Institute was instrumental in its purchase. The total manuscript discovery includes thirteen books, some of which exist only as a débris, others have considerable lacunae. Ten of them are more or less complete and four are almost entire. The documents consist of some thousand pages, of which 794 are complete. These comprise forty-eight writings, whereof only three occur in double or triple recension and only two have been known before through an available Egyptian text (pp. 15, 16). Most of these are written beautifully and carefully and are very well preserved. The manuscripts are variously dated in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era. Most of them give evidence of having been translated from the Greek. By reasons of internal evidence all three contributors to this volume agree in dating the Jung Codex around the middle of the second century of our era.

In the second essay, "The Jung Codex and Its Significance," Gilles Quispel, professor of early church history at the University of Utrecht, discusses the contents of this codex. It extends to about one hundred pages and gives clear evidence that at least thirty-eight pages are missing. It contains a *Letter of James,* the *Gospel of Truth,* the *Letter to Rheginos,* a *Treatise on the Three Natures,* and two very damaged pages of the *Prayer of the Apostles.* The *Letter of James* professes to contain esoteric

revelation which Christ is said to have communicated to James and Peter before His ascension. The *Gospel of Truth* is a homily and exposition and not a narrative dealing with the life and teachings of Jesus. This nontechnical use of the term "gospel" itself argues for an early date. Professor Quispel proposes the theory that this writing was a "fifth gospel" intended perhaps to supplant the canonical Gospels. This theory is rejected by Professor van Unnik, however, in his essay. What makes this writing of such strategic importance is that Irenaeus refers to a *Veritatis Evangelium* written by Valentinus (or his circle, for the Latin verb is in the plural form) and that prior to this not a trace of this gospel had been found. It is possible that Origen also refers to a gospel used by Valentinus, but the reference is ambiguous. At any rate it is clear that this is the first substantial discovery of material from a library of the Gnostics themselves.

Students of the heresies of the early centuries have always been taught (especially since the work of de Faye, 1913) that the Church Fathers were so prejudiced in their attitudes toward the heretics that they misrepresented their teachings. It is clear from the *Gospel of Truth* that Tertullian at least did not misrepresent Valentinus. The *Letter to Rheginos* was not previously known, even by name, and despite its brevity it throws some valuable light on the Gnostic view of the resurrection. The title to the fourth work is missing, so the editors have supplied the title: *The Treatise on the Three Natures.* It shows close affinities with Heracleon, the leader of Italian Valentinianism. It includes some elaborate speculations on the mysteries of the Godhead, and makes clear that the Valentinians, far from being greatly indebted to Greek philosophy (as Harnack supposed) were opposed to it. Finally it is shown by Dr. Quispel, to the satisfaction of this reviewer, that Gnosticism's pre-Christian elements are to be seen in Judaism. Against Bultmann and Reitzenstein he says, "A pre-Christian redeemer and an Iranian mystery of redemption perhaps never existed" (p. 78).

The final essay, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," written by W. C. van Unnik, deals with the relationship of this writing to the New Testament. This is a timely discussion since Bultmann and his circle are raising with vigor again the issue of Gnosticism and its relation to New Testament Christianity. Often the crucial question is the date of the material. Van Unnik makes clear that the author of the *Gospel of Truth* knows nearly all of our present New Testament and uses it, not by quoting it exactly but by alluding to it. If we grant that it was written by Valentinus about the middle of the second Christian century at Rome, then Harnack's view of the formation of the canon is eligible for drastic revision, for this would be proof that the canon was formed *before* Marcion, hence Marcion could not have been the influence which caused the church to define its canon. The allusions are cited in full by van Unnik. He holds that Valentinus wrote the *Gospel of Truth ca.* A.D. 140-45, before the development of the typical Gnostic dogmas.

These essays re-emphasize that a distinction must be made in discussing types of Gnosticism. It is clear, e.g., that the Nag Hammadi caché of codices represents two kinds of Gnosticism, the Sethian, or unsophisticated kind, and the much more chaste kind, Valentinianism, which is devoid of some of the excesses which we associate with Gnosticism. F. C. Burkitt and C. H. Dodd are ready to call these Gnostics Christians. Quispel writes: "It is worth noting that in our writing (*Gos-*

(Continued on page 33)